DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 471 106 SO 034 439

TITLE	History Teaching--Japan and the Russian Federation (Tokyo, Japan, October 25-27, 2000).
INSTITUTION	Council of Europe, Strasbourg (France).; International Society for Educational Information, Tokyo (Japan).
PUB DATE	2000-10-00
NOTE	103p.; Part of Activities for the Development and Consolidation of Democratic Stability (ADACS).
AVAILABLE FROM	Council of Europe, F67075 Strasbourg, Cedex, France. Tel: 33-3-88-41-20-00; Web site: http://www.coe.int. For full text: http://www.coe.int/ T/E/Cultural_Co-operation/education/History_Teaching/ .
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Proceedings (021) -- Reports - Descriptive (141)
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS
DESCRIPTORS	Asian History; Developed Nations; *Educational Cooperation; Foreign Countries; Higher Education; *History Instruction; *History Textbooks; Planning; Secondary Education; Teacher Education; Textbook Preparation
IDENTIFIERS	*Japan; Professional Meetings; *Russia; Russian History

ABSTRACT

The Tokyo (Japan) October 2000 meeting of experts on History Teaching in Japan and the Russian Federation was organized by the International Society for Educational Information (ISEI) and the Council of Europe. This was the second meeting, following the initial 1999 St. Petersburg (Russia) meeting conducted to increase mutual understanding in the history of relations between Japan and Russia. Three objectives of the second meeting were to: (1) discuss how Russian and Japanese histories are being taught in secondary schools in these countries; (2) analyze the way in which new history textbooks are being developed in Japan and Russia; and (3) discuss a plan for future cooperation. The proceedings of the meeting consist of the following sections: (1) "Introduction"; (2) "Official Presentations"; (3) "Presentations of the Russian Experts"; (4) "Presentations of the Japanese Experts"; and (5) "Conclusions." (BT)

Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made
from the original document.

ED 471 106

Tokyo, Japan, 25 -27 October 2000

History Teaching -Japan and the Russian Federation

Council of Europe
F67075 Strasbourg Cedex

SO 034 439

Activities for the Development and Consolidation of Democratic Stability (ADACS)

2001

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE, AND IN ELECTRONIC MEDIA FOR ERIC COLLECTION SUBSCRIBERS ONLY, HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

N. Borch-Jacobsen

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

2A

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☒ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

- Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

The opinions expressed in this work are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the official policy of the Council of Europe.

I. INTRODUCTION

II. OFFICIAL PRESENTATIONS

III. PRESENTATIONS OF THE RUSSIAN EXPERTS

IV. PRESENTATIONS OF THE JAPANESE EXPERTS

V. CONCLUSIONS

I. INTRODUCTION .

The Meeting of Experts on History Teaching - Japan and the Russian Federation - was organised by the International Society for Educational Information (ISEI) of Japan and the Council of Europe, and took place in Tokyo, from 25 -27 October 2000.

The aims of the Meeting were to:

- discuss how Russian and Japanese histories are being taught in secondary schools in these countries;

- analyse the way in which new history textbooks are being developed in Japan and Russia;

- discuss a plan for future co-operation.

The discussions on how to teach the history of neighbouring countries in secondary schools started in 1998. The Council of Europe, in co-operation with the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation, organised a Seminar on "The teaching of history in multicultural societies and border areas" (Khabarovsk, September 1998). This Seminar was organised within the framework of the Secretary General's New Initiative and was one of the activities undertaken within the project on the reform of history teaching and the preparation of new history textbooks in the Russian Federation.

These activities concentrated on co-operation in the preparation of:

- new standards and curricula in teaching history;

- new history textbooks for secondary schools;

- the initial and in-service training of history teachers.

After the changes of the early 1990s, history teaching needed to be changed and brought into line with modern methodology and have the former ideology removed. The main aim of the Council of Europe's project on the reform of history teaching was to provide countries in transition with information on European experiences in history teaching to help them to respond to the new challenges facing them.

In this context, the Council of Europe organised a two-day Meeting as a follow up to the Seminar in Khabarovsk (St. Petersburg, June 1999). This Meeting enabled officials and educators from Russia and Japan to discuss the past, present and future of history teaching in these countries. More specifically, formal presentations and discussions focused on the way in which Japan is presented in Russian teaching and the way in which Russia is presented in Japanese history curricula and textbooks.

The beginning of the discussions between Russia and Japan which, until recently, had not been open to the exchange of views in education, now may be considered as a step forward in strengthening co-operation in the area of education between these countries. The willingness of Russian and Japanese educators to develop contacts corresponds to the general process of developing co-operation between these countries in economic and political areas in present time. The participants of both Meetings stressed the important role of the Council of Europe in this co-operation.

During the Meetings in St. Petersburg and Tokyo, the participants concluded that when comparing history textbooks for secondary schools, Russian and Japanese histories are still mainly presented through political issues related to wars and conflicts rather then through positive themes from their shared histories. One of the proposals of these Meetings was to look once more at history textbooks and to try to strike a balance between political, social and cultural history and to include more themes illustrating co-operation between the two countries. The participants agreed that each country should prepare a list of themes which it would like to be included on its history in the history textbooks of the other country.

These proposals were supported by the ministry officials and it encourages the hope that, in future, Russian and Japanese history textbooks will contain more information about Japanese and Russian culture, fine arts, philosophy and customs which will help pupils from both countries better to understand their neighbours and strengthen their interests in each other.

The recommendations of these Meetings correspond to the development of new approaches in teaching history in secondary schools which are being developed by educators from different countries in the seminars organised by the Council of Europe. Nowadays, teachers often use examples of everyday life when teaching history. It enables them to present history in a more colourful way rather than in black and white about wars and heroes. A course on history, which includes different elements on culture and every-day life, gives the opportunity to teach more about human values, as well as to create positive images of countries, in particular, neighbouring countries. This is important for strengthening stability in different regions as well as in the world.

The discussions started in St. Petersburg and Tokyo continued at the Seminar on "New approaches in the preparation and publication of history textbooks in the Russian Federation" (Vladivostok, May 2001) organised by the Council of Europe with the participation of specialist from Japan.

II. OFFICIAL PRESENTATIONS .

ADDRESS BY Ms KAYA, Chair of the Board of the ISEI, to the Meeting

I am very glad to have the opportunity to address the Meeting and to greet Dr Alexander Kisilev, First Deputy Minister of Education of Education of the Russian Federation, Dr Vladimir Batsyn, Deputy Head of the Department of Regional Policies, the Ministry of Education, Dr Olga Strelova, Senior Researcher at Khabarovsk State Pedagogical University, Ms Tatiana Romanchenko, Senior Methodologist at Promorskiy Institute of Initial and In-Service Teacher Training, and Dr Sergey Goloubev, Head of the Department of World History at Tver State University, from the Russian Federation, as well as Ms Alison Cardwell and Ms Tatiana Milko from the Council of Europe.

I am very happy to welcome to Japan these participants in the Meeting, and to thank them for travelling such a long distance to join us today.

As you know this Meeting is the third in a series of gatherings prepared by the Council of Europe. The first was a Seminar held in Khabarovsk in September 1998 on the subject of "The Teaching of History in Multicultural Societies and Border Areas", and the second was a `follow-up' meeting in St. Petersburg in June 1998. Three specialists from, the International Society for Educational Information attended that meeting as representatives from Japan. The meetings have become established Council of Europe seminars.

Our Society has, since 1995, sponsored a programme of "*History Conferences for Mutual Understanding*". These have involved inviting history and history teaching specialists from 11 countries in East Asia, Southeast Asia and Oceania to Japan in order to give them, and specialists from Japan, the opportunity to study each other's history and enhance mutual understanding by looking closely at the way each of us teaches history. In particular, we have held periodic conferences with China and South Korea.

Russia and Japan being neighbouring countries with deep historical relations, we feel strongly that the deepening of mutual understanding that can be achieved by more frequent meetings between our history specialists and teachers is very important for the future of our two countries.

The International Society for Educational Information would, with your permission, very much like to include the current *Russo-Japanese History Conference for Mutual Understanding* in Tokyo as part of the project of conferences we have already held with various countries.

The Society has enjoyed a long association with the Council of Europe. Ever since we sent two delegates to make presentations to a European teachers' seminar held in the German city of *Donaueschingen in* 1981 on the subject of "Japan: What to Teach and How to Teach it", we have informally participated in a variety of seminars sponsored by the Council of Europe. In addition, on three occasions we have invited delegates from a total of 29 countries, along with representatives of the Council's Education Directorate, to Japan and held seminars and undertaken fieldwork in order to deepen understanding of Japan. This association has been promoted since Japan received official observer status at the Council, and we have since sent numerous representatives of Japan to conferences sponsored by the Council's Education Directorate.

I think this is a good opportunity to give member countries of the Council of Europe a better understanding of what our Society is. We are a legal body established in 1958 under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the purpose of introducing, through education, Japanese society, education and culture to countries overseas. Since that time, we have gathered from around the world textbooks and educational materials dealing with Japan and have had them reviewed and researched by more than 200 specialists (Members of the Expert Committee). Where mistakes have been discovered, we have produced copies of correct materials or data and sent these, translated into the relevant language, to publishers, writers and editors, requesting corrections. Our collection of textbooks and educational materials comes from 120 countries and totals 30,000 volumes. In addition, we produce foreign language publications, videos and CD ROMS introducing Japan, its economy, society, history and culture, and distribute these widely overseas.

Furthermore, we cooperate with a number of institutions overseas on the exchange of information on social studies textbooks in order to improve the way each of us describes the other's country in such textbooks. These institutions include the National Council for the Social Studies in the United States (NCSS), in Germany the Georg-Eckert for International Textbook Research China, the People's Educational Company and the Teaching Material Research Institute, and, in Korea, the Korean Educational Development Institute. In the United States, we display our educational materials at the NCSS annual meeting's exhibition and have given permanent access to such materials through 90 resource centres from which teachers can borrow teaching materials. In 1990, in response to a request, we invited 14 editors of social studies textbooks of major textbook publishing companies in the United States to take part in a seminar in Japan. In China, in addition to the activities noted above, we have cooperated since 1978 in the exchange of educational materials and information and, in 1986, we held a Japanese Education Exhibition in Beijing. Between 1989 and 1996, we cooperated with the Central Television Broadcasting Service of China, the People's Educational Company and Tsinghua Press to produce television language courses on basic, intermediate and business Japanese. We later heard that 119 million viewers tuned into this programme to study Japanese. Our Society was responsible for checking the script and for financial assistance in location shooting in Japan. In 1997, we invited six members of the National People's Congress to Japan, and in 1998, we received a return invitation to China to hold "Historical Exhibitions of China-Japanese Friendship" in, respectively, Tokyo and Beijing.

These are the major projects undertaken by our Society. In our current Meeting we will hear presentations and hold question-and-answer sessions on the cultural interaction between our two countries, and on political, cultural and social aspects from ancient times to the modern day. I very much hope that we will deepen our awareness of each other's history, education and culture and thereby establish true bonds of friendship.

In closing, I would like to express the sincere hope that a vigorous exchange of views on the part of the teachers from Russia and Japan and from the representatives of the Council of Europe will ensure the success of this Meeting.

PRESENTATION BY Dr A.F. KISELEV, First Deputy, Minister of Education, Russian Federation

Chair,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is my special pleasure to greet you all here on behalf of the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation. I am sure I will echo the opinion of all the Russian participants if I say we are very grateful to our Japanese colleagues for giving us the opportunity to visit your wonderful country.

As a person who came here a few years ago, I am delighted to come to Japan again. Even a few days would be enough to feel the unique character of Japanese civilisation and realise the importance of dialogue between our countries in education and culture.

Therefore, we highly appreciate this possibility to establish contacts between Russia and Japan on such a topical issue as the reflection of the history and culture of Japan in Russian schoolbooks as well as of Russian history and culture in Japanese teaching materials. We appreciate the efforts of the Council of Europe as an intermediary in this process. We cannot but feel inspired by the thought that we are the pioneers on this road.

The first meeting in St. Petersburg, which was a success, has shown that the problem we are discussing is very topical and is of great interest to both parties. Japanese and Russian colleagues, as well as our friends from the Council of Europe, have emphasised the importance of the work we have started. And I am here to confirm that the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation and the whole education system of our country will very carefully consider the conclusions and recommendations which will be made by our small but actively working group.

I suppose our Japanese and European colleagues may be interested in learning of the most important directions in history education in Russian schools. Let me briefly outline them keeping in mind the aims of this Meeting.

First of all, we do not want our history course for schools just to be a collection of a large number of events, names and dates. Pupils must understand WHY they study history and WHAT practical sense to them historical knowledge has.

We think it necessary to find a flexible balance between world, national and regional history, taking into consideration ethno-cultural, culture-historical, civilisational and other specific features of any Russian territory. It is my opinion that, with due regard to this, one cannot just tell a class of, for example, the events of World War Two in the same way in St. Petersburg and in Vladivostok. For pupils from the Russian Far East, there should be more accent on the military operations in the Asia-Pacific region, while young citizens of St. Petersburg might be told more about battles in Europe. No doubt, some invariable standard of knowledge has to be there, but the importance of a variable component should not be underestimated either. Our Far Eastern colleagues will speak more about this.

Some essential changes in the approaches to the aims and contents of history education are expected to take place. However paradoxical it may sound, this education is going to become more humanistic. We intend to pay more attention to people - both "historic decision-makers" and those who "just lived" - with their troubles, problems and happy hours, with their understanding of good and evil.

The knowledge about other countries and their peoples and, about Japan in particular, is significant. Therefore, in writing a textbook on history, it is important to find such various methodological approaches as to create a unique, inimitable image of each country and each culture, so that the words "the French", "France", "the Japanese" or "Japan" would not cause boredom or fear of being overburdened with information, but a kind of live bright image and a desire to know more about them.

We would be very grateful to our Japanese colleagues if they could oblige us with a brief list of historical events and cultural phenomena of Japan which, in their opinion, are the most essential and the absence of which would mean a complete knowledge of Japan being impossible.

In our future history textbooks, we should try to shift from the so-called "Euro-centrism" to the concept of civilisational wealth of humankind. Russia itself is a multi-national and polycultural country. Historically, like many other countries, it is an example of everlasting interaction and the mutual effect of various cultures. But the world is like that, too, and it is one of the objectives and a most worthy mission of the general education system to teach pupils to understand and value the world's unity and diversity, to be able to hear the music of one's own culture in the orchestra of other cultures.

Finally, coming back to the topic, I cannot help discovering an amazing correspondence and even some chronological coincidence of historical ages and events in Russia and Japan. There are many similar features in the age of feudalism, in the Meiji revolution and the reforms of Alexander II, in the ways of getting to know European culture and, at the same time, the efforts to save national cultural traditions. I believe, such topics could be a matter of special courses in our schools.

I am sure, these and many other themes will be discussed at the present Meeting. We also might exchange views on our future cooperation. It seems to me, this is a point of mutual interest

To conclude, I would like to thank once again the Organizing Committee for the preparations and the interesting programme. I wish all of you success, health and prosperity.

Thank you.

III. PRESENTATIONS OF THE RUSSIAN EXPERTS

Presentation by Dr V Batsyn, Department of Regional Policies, Ministry of Education, Russian Federation

THE CULTURE OF JAPAN IN CONTEMPORARY RUSSIA

The topic offered to me for my presentation at this Meeting, appears both very interesting and rather complicated. I could not have imagined that I would face so many difficulties while working on it.

The first conclusion I have made is the following: We have never so far had any generalised investigations devoted to the perception of the culture of Japan in contemporary Russia (or in the USSR).

Does it mean that Japanese culture is unknown to our country and there are no such publications in Russian? No, it does not: there are lots (hundreds or possibly thousands) of them. Added to the books and articles on Japanese history, economy and politics, it makes a substantial library! But let me make it a point again: all these works concern Japan itself; it is Japan and its phenomena that are described, studied and analysed. However, the works contain practically no answer to the question as to how these phenomena have been reflected in consciousness of Russia's peoples', and to what extent they have influenced the peoples' culture.

I used to address this question to the State Museum of Oriental Peoples (Moscow); Department of Japan, Institute of the Far East, the Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow); the Oriental Department, the State Historical Library (Moscow), but none of them could help me in my research.

So, I had to do it myself. I read many different publications and was consulted by various specialists, and I am prepared to bring to your notice today the results which I have managed to get. Right now, I must make a reservation that this is not a scientific monograph, and not even a thesis. This, at best, is a first approach to the statement of a question of the position of Japanese culture in contemporary Russia.

Let me start with rather general but important reasons.

The first of them could be put like this: the culture of a people may (or may not) be resonant with another people's culture (ie find response, be perceived or affect). This resonance may be very strong at some historical stage, and get weaker or be completely absent at another. Moreover, for such a resonance to occur, it is not principally significant whether these peoples are geographically neighbouring or separated by great distances. And there is one more thing: the resonance is likely to be one-sided, when one culture suddenly opens itself to another one with the latter remaining indifferent to the former.

A well-known example of the kind: Russia and France in the second half of the 18th and the first half of the 19th Century. At that time, the culture of Russian nobility developed not only under French influence, but even in the French language. In his childhood, the great Russian poet, Alexander Pushkin, did not know his mother language and spoke only French. Architecture and fashion, theatre and literature, artistic taste and political views - all started moving to Russia from France. On the other hand, France itself completely lacked any such interest and it was only for a short period that the interest was aroused and that was after Paris had been invaded by Russian troops in 1814.

Gradually shifting from the gentry circles, the French cultural influence spread over different strata of Russian society. Suffice it to say that even such a conservative rite as the church marriage ceremony, not only in towns but in the country, started requiring that a bride should wear a white lacy dress instead of the traditional Russian red sarafan.

Now, let us ask ourselves these questions: "Has there ever been a similar cultural "romance" between Russia and

Japan? Have ordinary Russian people started wearing Japanese clothes and arranging their homes in Japanese style?" The answer is evident: such a passionate "romance" has never existed, unlike in the relations between Japan and China since the 17th Century. And it was Japan that initiated that unrequited affair.

I will not try to explain now why such a "love" cannot, as a rule, be mutual, the more so that the answer is not very hard to find. What is important to us at the moment is to emphasise the fact that, although Russian and Japanese cultures have never been, as it were, REFERENTIAL for each other, their mutual interest never faded in the 20th Century.

More than that, the last decade (especially the present time) saw a considerable increase in its intensity.

I think the reason is, far from being only in that Japan's achievements in economy, engineering and technology are universally attractive, it goes much deeper and is mainly in the fact that it is the Russian culture that has steadily been opening for itself the country Japan and its culture. I may be mistaken, but it seems to me that Russian culture (especially literature and music) has long and relatively deeply been enrooted in the minds of not only the country's intellectuals but in those of the educated masses of Japan as well. In the meantime, although most people in our country apparently know what "kimono", "ikebana", "karate" and "jiu-jitsu" mean, Japanese culture, as actual knowledge and spiritual value, is almost absent from Russian society.
Why is that?
Would like to offer this version.

For the people of Japan, getting acquainted with Russian culture was indirect, via Western culture, primarily American, when after World War II, Japan started "trying on" all that was American, including the US education system with most of what it contained. By that time, Russian culture had been perceived beyond its national boundaries, and, for all the specific features of the perception in different countries, had become the one to belong among the world's values. It was due to the Euro-American cultural tradition that the massive giant of Russian culture was reduced to a few "cult", marked names such as Leo Tolstoy, Chekhov and Dostoevsky - in literature, Tchaikovsky and Rakhmaninov - in music.

Before offering any kind of explanation to the above phenomenon, let us see what ordinary Russian people know about the culture of Japan.

I daresay, "nothing" is the word. In fact, up to the early 1980s, the Soviet people could draw information about Japan mainly from two sources: school textbooks and official propaganda.

I will not dwell on the textbooks, they are the subject of this Meeting. Let me briefly remind you about some theses of the then propaganda:

- Japan: a non-sinkable aircraft carrier of the USA;

- the Government of Japan carries on the anti-popular politics;

- the Japan-US Treaty deprived Japan of state sovereignty and led to the remilitarisation of Japan;

- US money is what underlies Japan's artificial and temporary economic success;

- the peace-loving people of Japan, who suffered the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, are now oppressed by a pro-American regime while the number of those standing under the banners of the Communist and Socialist parties of Japan has been steadily growing.

As we can see, those approaches hardly had any real political or cultural sense. There was no intention to create a positive image of Japan, of its people and culture. And it was only much later that, the famous book of V. Ovtchinnikov, "A branch of Sakura", was published and immediately became a bestseller. But can one book of a traveller's essays do very much?

Yes, we could criticise the incomplete and unilateral image of Russian culture in Japanese society, but we have regretfully to admit the situation as regards the knowledge of Japanese culture by Soviet people was also poor.

However, the above-said does not at all mean that the culture potential of the Soviet intellectuals was completely devoid of any Japanese "component".

I remember very well how quickly all books and albums on Japanese arts were sold out even though they were rather expensive. And here, just to exemplify, let me present a piece of my own experience of 1974.

In one of the largest book-stores in the centre of Moscow, there was a spacious (for those times, of course) section on Arts. I visited it from time to time with the hope of catching the moment when they would (as we used to say) "throw out" something particularly interesting for sale. One day, I was lucky: a wonderful monograph on Katsushika Hokusae, with a large set of the artist's coloured prints, was put on sale just at the moment I happened to be there near the counter. It is worth mentioning that the book was printed in Finland (there were no good printing-houses in the USSR at that time).

That year, I worked as a school teacher, and the price was about 20% of my monthly salary. I did not have that much money with me. Well, of course, I could have run and asked my aunt for the needed balance (she lived nearby), but the thought held me back that it would be a too hard a blow to inflict on my family budget - all for the sake of one book! So, I hesitated as to whether I should do that.

Meanwhile, standing by the counter, I could not help overhearing and watching other customers. The few who could afford the price were buying two, three and even five copies. Most of the others, like me, were just marking time by the counter, leafing through the demonstration copy.

The more I heard their comments, the more I realised I MUST buy the book for there would not be another chance. So I ran to my aunt to get the money and, finally, bought the album! I still look through it these days, and with my grandchildren too. By the way, the whole stock of the book was sold out by the end of the same day I bought mine.

I have told you my story to prove the following: the interest towards Japanese culture in Russia is not total but very deep. It is the interest of a PREPARED audience. It is the interest of those who managed to reach beyond the limits of the Russian and Russo-European standards. Many of them, including myself, had to cross different "bridges" to get in touch with Japanese culture. There were three-verse poems in literature, some artistic images of European "modern" of early 20th Century and architectural images of traditional Japanese dwellings, "The Garden of Stones" and the above-mentioned art of ikebana.

In other words, we, the Russians, come to know the Japanese culture strictly individually, based on our personal interest. Unfortunately, for millions of Russians, the culture of Japan has not so far become an indispensable part of the universal knowledge, that gives a person the right to consider himself/herself culturally educated.

It is important to note that the above PREPAREDNESS of those few Russians is the one achieved exclusively through books or museums. The "Iron Curtain" of the USSR, the poor economic situation in today's Russia, the lack of tradition of culture-oriented tourism - all these seriously decrease the possibilities for new Russian generations to get acquainted with Japanese culture. Tourists from Japan can be met nearly everywhere in Russia, while our people are rare guests of your country.

In summary, I would like to conclude with this. The real discovery of Japan by Russia, by its people, culture and art is still ahead of us, and this future is sure to come, and to the mutual benefit of both cultures. For most Russians, Japan is still exotic in material and a mystery in its spiritual expression. The particular character of this future meeting of the two cultures has (by far in terms of actuality and time) been preceded by our meeting with contemporary Japanese technologies. Younger generations of Russians are destined to identify Japan as a country of the 21st Century at times unaware and unable to feel that this is just the top of an enormous and fantastically interesting "iceberg", which is Japan proper.

Anyway, this is our own problem. If we love and value our own culture, if we want it to develop and enrich the world's cultural treasury, we must find ways to develop a close dialogue between our great cultural traditions.

It is a time to live not just side by side, but together.

Presentation by Dr S. Golubev, Head of the

Department of World History, Tver State University

JAPAN AND RUSSO-JAPANESE RELATIONS IN the 19th - 20th CENTURIES IN TEXTBOOKS AND UNIVERSITY COURSES, USED FOR TRAINING OF HISTORY TEACHERS IN THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

The activities of the History Faculty of Tver State University (TvSU) in describing Japan's historic events while educating future school teachers, may be considered as exemplary. On the one hand, TvSU belongs to the group of Central Russian Universities and so has not any specific "historical crossings" with Japan and the Asia-Pacific Region in general. On the other hand, unlike in Moscow and St. Petersburg, there are not any serious scientific schools here, engaged in researching the problems of Japan and the Asia Pacific Rim. Therefore, ours can be regarded as just being the case of certain interest due to its rather common, average and standard character. However, it should be taken into account that it is universities such as the TvSU that provide for most history teachers for Russia's schools. It is the process of university training that shapes attitudes to great countries, to famous personalities, to problematic ideas, and the views of those who themselves - in the nearest future - are going to create the world vision of young Russians. So, the tasks of our meeting with our Japanese colleagues, held under the aegis of the Council of Europe, seem to imply a clear understanding by both sides of the organisation and contents of teaching at schools and universities all concerning the history of Japan and Russo-Japanese relations.

It is worth mentioning that, at all times, universities and the system of higher education in general were much more flexible in their activity than secondary schools, which were strongly pushed by authorities to follow the political canons and ideological cliches. The subjects of lectures and seminars, topics of students' diplomas should be approved by the Faculty Science Council, to be discussed with colleagues, but not to be controlled by ideological bureaucrats. Accordingly, students, who were keen on getting deeper knowledge, got more opportunities to understand the world development and for the analysis of other regions' progress. In the meantime, secondary school teachers were seriously limited by curriculum requirements and the uniformity of textbooks, which apparently contradicted the wide spectrum of historical knowledge received at the university and unifying school policy.

In the new social situation in Russia, the activities of educational structures have been changed, and the main task of universities, which continue to train history teachers for secondary schools, is not only to give them the professional knowledge of high quality. Future history teachers are also supposed to perceive history as a "positive" science, which is not to assist in or impede solving any political problems. In studying foreign countries, it is essential to keep the balance of political history, history of ideas, economics, social life, and culture etc., i.e. the balance of all branches of historical knowledge. Unfortunately, in the past few decades, we witnessed events of political history apparently prevalent in teaching and investigation.

Future teachers should also cultivate a balanced view on history, to keep up the principles of pluralism and tolerance, the principles which they are to convey to their pupils. Finally, another task of training a professional historian is the shaping of an understanding of a global character of historic development, embracing all civilizations, communities, societies and peoples of the planet. Therefore, the study of Japan and Russo-Japanese relations is of principal importance in the training of future history teachers.

At the TvSU Faculty of History, the first Japan-related information is included in the courses on ethnology, historical geography, historical demography and some other disciplines as early as during the first two semesters. Although the above courses deal mostly with the history of Russia and Europe, the presence in them of a comprehensive element connected with Oriental civilizations is an essential component of classical history education.

The Faculty also tries to maintain the same principle in teaching the main courses.

It is strange that the future school teachers, when learning the history of Russia, are not given the first materials about Japan in the course on international relations in the late 19th - early 20th Centuries, but in the lectures on "Russian modernisation", where Dr. Tatiana Leontieva compares Russian reforms of the 19th Century with those of the Meiji period in Japan. Being compared, in particular, are: the role of the supreme power in the modernisation of both the Empires, the attitude of society (including intellectuals) towards reforms performed, peculiarities of economic processes, importance of the previous relations with Western countries (eg the comparison of the "Dutch School" and the Russian Westernists). Also analysed in further lectures are both the Russo-Japanese rivalry in the Far East and the well-known developments of the war in 1904-1905. However, the students consider these in the context of the struggle of the two great powers for their influence in this region, for the control over Lyaodun Peninsula, Port-Arthur and the South-Manchurian Railways. In our opinion, such an approach to the conflicts in Russo-Japanese relations permits the development of a broad view of the geopolitical situation in the Asia-Pacific Region at the beginning of the 20th Century, and not to make it a point, which of the sides was more to blame for the conflict that caused the loss of so many lives. Importance is attached to the issue of warming in Russo-Japanese relations before the First World War, the reasoning by students being based on the data obtained from some newly published diplomatic documents.

The History of Japan in a most systematic and comprehensive way is presented in the course "The history of Asian and African countries", which starts in the 4th semester, when the development of Afro-Asian territories in the Middle Ages is studied. For a four-hour period (out of 32), Dr Andrei Lagutkin teaches the history of medieval Japan. In the next, the 5th semester, the new history of oriental countries is studied, where Dr Olga Khokhlova speaks about the economic and political development of Japan. For example, there is a two hour lecture on "Japan in the Tokugawa period", elaborating on Tokugawa's House's efforts in unifying the country, the Segunat's religion policy, its course aimed at regulating social relations in the late 18th -early 19th Centuries and the reasons why the regime collapsed. A special lecture is devoted to Japanese culture in the 17th Century, and future teachers study aesthetics of the Japanese, their traditional education system and literature of that time (Saikaku Ikhara, Ikku etc.), the theatre (gagaku, no, kabuki, joruri), architecture and arts. In addition, there is a special seminar on agrarian legislation of Tokugawa, Russo-Japanese relations in the middle of the 19th Century and the period of "discovery" of Japan. Special attention is paid to the attitude of different social groups to the ceasing of self-isolation and to the consequences of the treaties concluded with the USA and European countries in the 1950s.

The study of Japan continues in the next semester as well. The students of the History Faculty have the following courses:

"The Meiji period", with the analysis of views of scientists from Japan, Russia and Europe on social reforms;

"The culture of Meiji", with investigation of western influence on Japanese culture and the evolution of social and political conceptions (kokugaku and yogaku);

"Japan in the late 19th -early 20th Centuries", devoted, first of all, to political modernisation and foreign policy (Japan-China War of 1894-1895 and its consequences, relations between Japan and Russia, participation of Japan in the First World War).

Discussed at a special seminar are: social aspects of the government policy and evolution of the Emperor's cult at the turn of the 19th and 20th Centuries and its reflection in the Constitution of 1889, in the Rescript on education, in the letters of R. Akutagawa. The peculiarity of Dr

Khokhlova's classes is in that she usually conducts them in the form of a "game", when, for example, students are learning the Tax Legislation of the 17th - 18th Centuries, and some of them play the role of peasants, others - of tax inspectors, and the third group arbitrators.

For their independent research, the students actively use the documents on Japanese modern history as well as the University textbooks such as "Modern history of Asia and Africa" (in two volumes), published in the 1990s by Moscow State University. Certain parts of the first volume written by Drs. E. Zhukov and G. Navlitskaya are devoted to Japan. They deal with the political system of Japan in the 17th and 18th Centuries, social and political hierarchy of the country's leadership, anti-government actions, Japanese towns and urban estates, relations of Japan with foreign countries in the late 18th early 19th Centuries, the economic situation in the early 19th Century, the political crisis of the Segunat, the period of "discovery" and of inequitable treaties, and, in part, with Japan's culture in the 17th-mid-19th Centuries. The second volume also contains a part written by the same authors, in which special importance is attached to the evolution of the ideological opposition to the Segunat, the social preconditions for "Meiji isin" and the political struggle of that time, the reforms of the 1960s - 1970s, the Samurai opposition, the industrial development of Japan and the creation of a new social structure, the emergence of political parties and movements, the foreign policy of Japan in the period from the Japan-China War in 1894-1895 to the First World War.

During the fourth year (semesters 7and 8), within the course " Modern history of Asia and Africa" by Dr S. Golubev, the history of Japan is presented in the lecture "Shaping the political course of Japan in the 1920s-30s" and at the seminar "Foreign policy of Japan on the eve of and at the outset of World War Two" where, among others, a controversial question such as the essence of the political regime in Japan of that time is discussed based on new historical literature (in the Soviet Union, the regime was unambiguously branded as a form of fascism).

In the next semester, the independent work of the future teachers concentrates on various documents and scientific publications. As a rule, four topics are offered to students during each seminar. Two of them are discussed by the whole group, the other two are presented by individual students in prepared reports which are consequently discussed and analysed. In our opinion, such a form enables the students to shape their own, free from prejudice and stereotypes, views on many complex problems of social life.

The leading role of Japan in economics and politics of the Asia-Pacific Rim is reflected in a seminar "Asia-Pacific region in international relations at the turn of the 20th and 21st Centuries". The article of the Japanese economist, H. Kanamori (translated into Russian), and the monograph by a group of Japanese politologists, published under the supervision of the former Prime Minister Y. Nakasone are in the list of recommended literature for this seminar. Three sessions of the seminar are devoted to the post-war history of Japan. Analysed at the first of them are: the reasons for "Japan's economic wonder"; specificities of scientific progress and labour management in 1950s-1960s; establishing "The New Monopolies" (on the basis of Akio Morita and Konosuke Matsusita's memoirs, already published in Russia); new priorities in science and technology policies. The second session deals with the complex and sensitive problems of Russia (USSR)-Japan relations. The historic, legal and political aspects of the Kuril Islands issue is an integral part of the discussion here. The unbiased approach in considering this by future history teachers is ensured by two separate presentations, one based on the Russian side's arguments, the other - on those of their opponents (works of M. Uimeta, H. Kimura, B. Slavinsky), which is followed by a general discussion. The third seminar, consisting of students' presentations only, centres on the evolution of the monarchal idea in post-war Japan, specific features of Japan's system of education, the role of holidays and feasts in Japanese society. The ensuing lecture on "Some trends in the development of Japan after World War II" elucidates those aspects of social life which are beyond the scope of the seminar theme, such as the political structure of Japan, its constitutional system etc., and helps streamline the acquired knowledge.

Our principal textbook, used in this course, is worth mentioning here. It is "The history of Asia and North Africa after World War II" written by Dr. M. Yuriev and published by Moscow State University in 1994. The history of post-war Japan is described here in the light of the influence of the American occupation regime and the development of the political system of the new Japan after the San Francisco Treaty, the renewal of relations with the USSR, economic growth, social life in 1970s and 1980s, trends of economic development.

In conclusion, the history of Japan occupies a good place in the system of training of future school teachers in Tver State University. The methods used in training are meant to instil in them unbiased and balanced views on the evolution of Japanese society. For all the historical realities, ignoring which makes any science difficult to imagine, I believe, such a system of training stimulates the interest of students for the culture, economy, political structure of the neighbouring country. So, after graduating from university, they may be expected to transmit their interest for the achievements of Japanese people and respect of their traditions and customs to the pupils in schools, and thus contribute to the further development of Russo-Japanese relations.

Presentation by Dr O. Strelova, Khabarovsk State Pedagogical University

THE HISTORY OF JAPAN IN SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION AND ITS FAR EAST REGIONS

First of all, let me express my sincere gratitude to the representatives of Japan in the ISEI for their interest in cooperation between Russia-Japan and their wish to favour its development through history education in school. Our today's Meeting in Tokyo is not only the unique chance to see this legendary country, but the continuation of the acquaintance which originated in St. Petersburg in June 1999.

After the initial presentation of Russian and Japanese school textbooks on history, we can now start analysing them and planning our joint activities.

During the last few years, the Russian school has -mostly in a painful and contradictory way - been trying to accept the new educational model which is, first of all, characterised by variability. Authors of school textbooks on history, given a free choice of methodology and methods, have, nevertheless, to keep in mind the so-called Obligatory Minimum of Historical Data, as defined by the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation. When the time assigned for the course is strictly limited, it is not real to expect much variety of historical topics on the pages of competing textbooks. Our investigation of more than 20 textbooks has shown that, in general, all the authors present the same events of Japan's history and Russo-Japanese relations. At the present meeting, I would like to pay special attention to the axiological analysis of Russian history textbooks (both federal and regional), ie to try to answer the following questions: "What is the aim of the authors in telling pupils about the neighbouring country?", "What image of, and attitude to, the country are created by the description?", "To what extent does this or another estimate by the authors agree with today's and future relations between Russia and Japan?"

Russian pupils get the first information about Japan in the course "The history of the Middle Ages" (6th grade); but this is only where they use the textbooks of N. Devyataikina (Moscow, Center for Humanities) or that of S. Kolpakov (Moscow, BALASS Publishing House). In paragraphs 14 / 36 respectively, the authors briefly describe the creation of the state, Taika reforms, Samurais and the Code of Honour, the origins of the Segunat, religions, chronicles and literature of the "The Sun Root" country. Comparison of the two books shows that the image of Japan in the Middle Ages is brighter, more human and realistic in the book of S. Kolpakov, where there is not just historical data presented, but vital problems of a multicultural society are emphasised. For example: "Japan's population today, resulted from the merging of many tribes that had moved to the islands at different times"; "Buddhism and Shintoism peacefully co-existed in Japan, both their ancient Gods and Buddha are equally worshipped by the Japanese nowadays"; "The principal feature of Japanese culture is the idea of harmony of people and Nature, the aspiration to live in concord with it", etc. The paragraph is concluded by a phrase that sounds like a lyric poem to the Japanese which I would like to quote in full, all the more so that it is the only example of a Russian history textbook where the people, not the State, are the focus of attention: It is not at all that the Japanese intend to change nature or subjugate it, but to admire it. What they prefer is not the pompous and the conspicuous, but the graceful and the undemonstrative. Accustomed to be content with what little there is, the people of this country are able to value the beautiful in everything around them, in any ordinary item, whether it is tableware or clothes".

Two different approaches in describing the history of Japan in the Middle Ages - one based on regional geography and the other being culture-biased, resulted in two different axiological conclusions which follow:

1. In the middle of the first millennium, Japan became a state which had managed to absorb all the valuable parts

which Chinese civilization had achieved and to create, on the basis of it, its own unique civilisation (N. Devyataikina et al.,p.123).

2. In the Middle Ages, Japan adopted a lot in her social life and culture from other peoples, which led to the emergence of a particular society with a highly developed culture (S. Kolpakov et al., p. 278).

All our school books on New History (7-8th grades) do not ignore the theme "Japan in the 16th - 19th Centuries". They partially repeat the data presented in the course on the Middle Ages. In the new material, such political events as military dictatorship, the strengthening of the feudal system, isolation from other countries, the aggressive "discovery" of Japan by Western countries are dominant in the text. By the way, the Russian researchers apparently sympathise with our eastern neighbour: "Unequal treaties with European countries, including Russia in the middle of the 19th Century", "Western intervention led to the worsening of the traditional economic relations and caused a decline in the quality of life for the majority of the population" (Yudovskaya et al., Moscow, Prosveschenie Publishing House, p. 480).

The economic and political phenomenon of Japan in the middle of the 19th Century appeared even more essential to Russian historians. How did it happen that Japan, which at the beginning of the century was "on the remote outskirts of the civilised world and the object of expansion for Western countries, had by the end of the 19th Century turned into colonies possessing power and one of the world's great powers?" (A. Kreder, Moscow, TsGO Publishing House). Therefore, the second part of the textbooks on new history concentrates on the Meiji reforms and their consequences. Russian scientists explain the Japanese success by a "combination of Western technical achievements and national specificities" (S. Burin, DROFA); by a "balance of traditions and new conditions" (A. Kreder). It looks like, by giving such a detailed analysis of Japanese reformers' experience, our authors aimed, in some latent way, at trying to puzzle our compatriots, by way of comparison, with the present Russian reforms, that in no way seem so brilliant...

The textbooks on the modern history of foreign countries (9th grade), present Japan as a powerful industrial and military power, which in the late 19th Century joined the struggle for spheres of influence in Asia.

Describing the first half of the 20th Century, Russian history textbooks keep focusing on the political events of Japanese history, such as establishing an authoritarian regime, military power build-up and aggression on the continent, and... the bloody conclusion of the historical drama as Japan entered into World War Two and finally capitulated.

For Russian authors, writing about the history of the second half of the 20th Century, the economic development of Japan and the sources of the "economic miracle" seem to be more significant. The following reasons for the enviable success of its neighbouring country are given: the workers' qualification and discipline, national labour traditions, historic experience of industrial development, radical reforms, demilitarisation, military orders from the USA during the Korean and Vietnamese wars, turning to advanced technologies, political stability (N. Zagladin, Moscow, Russkoe Slovo Publishing House).

Curiously enough, the information on post-war Japan in our textbooks is traditionally given in parts of books named "Asia, Africa and Latin America" while Japan is compared with the leading countries of the West.

In the opinion of Russian scientists', Japan's experience of the post-war renewal and modernisation is very attractive for many developing countries.

The so-called concentric structure of teaching, introduced in Russian schools in the 1990s, permits senior-grade students to return to the topics studied before, but on a higher level of problems and approaches. Unfortunately, our authors seem just to be learning the ways to vary the contents and problems of the history course in secondary school. As an example, the textbook by A. Soroko-Tsyupa et al. for grades 10-11 (Moscow, Prosveschenie Publishing House), after reviewing political events in Japan in the 19th - 20th Centuries, draws the following conclusion which, to my mind, is not quite correct from the ethical point of view: (I quote) "The defeat of Japan in World War Two appeared as a blessing for the people and the future of the country. Not only was the Japanese militarism routed, but a half-century strategy of expansion and enslavement of the peoples of South-East Asia and China, led by Japanese Government, was also stopped. American occupation of Japan and the economic and political reforms by the American administration also turned out to be good for Japan". (p.289)

In the book "World History of the 20th Century" (N. Zagladina, Moscow, Russkoe Slovo Publishing House), the history of Japan as well as that of other countries is not covered separately but in concert with a few countries with similar conditions. Japan is repeatedly mentioned in the following chapters: "Countries of Western Europe, Russia and Japan: modernisation experience", "Rivalry of the Great Powers and the First World War", "Models of socio-economic development of Asian and African countries", etc.

Generalising the Japan-related contents of school books on world history, the following conclusions may be drawn:.

1. The past of Japan is covered in the period from the 7th to the 20th Centuries, with more details on the two last centuries..

2. The history of Japan before the 20th Century is described in regional parts "Asia, Africa and Latin America", while modern history is analysed by most of the authors in a global context and is compared with the leading states of Western Europe and the USA..

3. The main aspects of the contents, such as politics and economy, but briefly touching on culture, religion, social relations, are mostly reflected in the history of the Middle Ages and recent times.

4. Russian scientists have a high opinion of Japan's experience of the reforms in the 19th - 20th Centuries and of the success in the economy and foreign policy thus achieved, while the response to the foreign policy of Japan in the 1920s-40s is negative.

5. There is an apparent lack of information about the culture of Japan, especially in new and recent times in all Russian school textbooks.

6. The influence of Europe on Japanese culture has been shown in Russian books (I. Mishina, L. Zharova, Moscow, Russkoe Slovo Publishing House), but there is hardly anything about Japan's contribution to world culture. Only in one textbook (N. Zagladin), are Japanese writers Kenzaburo Oe and M.Yoko mentioned.

7. Based on scare information, Russian pupils may get the impression that the Japanese are the diligent, disciplined, team-spirited, tolerant, highly cultured, but, unfortunately, our textbooks contain no systematically compiled and integral material on national psychology, traditions, life style, values of society and the outstanding personalities of Japan.

8. In general, the image of Japan in Russian history books is attractive enough, but it is rather *rationally* attractive, but *spiritual*, winning is not sufficient. As the authors of one book put it: "Japan is still a far away, exotic and almost unreal country".

Japan is less "lucky" in being mentioned in Russian textbooks devoted to our own history. The first time it appears in some books is on the history of Russia of the late 19th - early 20th Centuries (8th grade) in connection with the Russia-Japan treaties of 1855 and 1875 (A. Danilov et al., Moscow TsGO Publishing House) and the Tsar's policy in the Far East (A. Bokhanov, Moscow, Russkoe Slovo Publishing House).

But then, the 1904-1905 war is in every book. Comparing different textbooks, we can see a lot of diversity in presenting the same historical facts. For example, opinions about the initiators of this war occupy a wide range as follows:

"Russia did not want to fight against Japan. The war was forced on it." (A. Bokhanov) "The Far East at the beginning of the century is a sphere of interests both to Russia and Japan. Some of the Russian top-leaders definitely wanted that war" (V. Ostrovsky et al.) and "Japan was the main obstacle for Russian dominance in the Far East... . The war was a logical consequence of Russia's imperial policy." (A. Danilov et al.).

In one case, the authors use their logic to push pupils to think over such questions as was it possible to avoid the war with Japan? Why did Japan, which was "weaker- in military strength and economy" - eventually win the war? (A. Bokhanov). Other researchers think the Russian victory was "stolen", the result of the war would have been different if it were not for some fatal coincidence (V. Shestakov et al.). And there are those who emphasise the influence of the war on the internal situation in Russia (A. Levandovsky et.al.; V. Ostrovsky, A. Danilov). Of course, in each of these cases, both the description of historic events and the conclusions by the pupils will be completely different.

Another "obligatory" point in Russo-Japanese relations, presented in our textbooks, concerns military conflicts between the USSR and Japan in the 1930s and the final stage of World War Two. In their analysis of the events in the Far-East, Russian authors are unanimous in saying that the territorial claims of Japan in Manchuria and Primorie were unfounded. Explanations of the USSR entering into the war with Japan are generally unified: the obligations before the allies, the need to smash the "hotbed" of military aggression in Asia, the issue of the security of the USSR on its eastern borders. (V. Dmitrenko et al. Moscow, DROFA Publishing House). A. Danilov honestly added that, in the war with Japan, J. Stalin, "considered the expansion of Soviet influence in the Far East". Only once, in the book of V. Ostrovsky et al., the statement of the Soviet Government is cited: "The defeat of Russian troops in 1904 left gloomy memories in our peoples' minds. Our peoples believed that a day would come when Japan would be crushed and the black spot of disgrace erased". Again, in each case, events are described and can be regarded from different points of view.

An attempt to step back from the "Cold War" stereotypes is made in a book by V. Shestakov et al. The pupils are asked unusual and topical questions: "What is your attitude to the following ideas: to cancel the Victory Day celebration in order not to remind people of military conflicts once again; to make equal all those who fought on both sides of the front-line by awarding them all the title of "Veteran of World War Two"; to restore cemeteries of German and Japanese prisoners of war who died and were buried in the territory of Russia?"

The third part of the Japan-related topics concerns Russia's foreign policy in the 1980-1990s. All the authors approve of the way bilateral relations are enhanced through official meetings and negotiations. They admit that "the giant industrial potential of Japan may be used in the development of many branches of our economy" (V. Ostrovsky), and regret that the "eastern" direction of Russia's foreign policy is still a minor one, in spite of official declarations"(A. Danilov).

The following conclusions may be drawn from the analysis of school books on the history of Russia:

1. Facts of modern military and political history are the only basis for the creation of the image of Japan.

2. This image is more real and tangible than that given in the course of world history, for Japan is described as an eastern "disturbing" neighbour of Russia, its rival in the struggle for the spheres of influence in the Far East during a whole century.

3. Such an image is not in keeping with the more positive

concept formed of world history.

Three regions of the Russian Federation are close neighbours of Japan. Does this influence the contents of the regional school-books, their tone and conclusions? We have analysed the books published in Sakhalin, Khabarovsk Territory and Primorie in the 1990s.

The history of a Russian region related to the history of a neighbouring state is most often mentioned in "The history of Sakhalin Oblast from the ancient times to the present" (Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, 1995). The authors emphasise the common character in history and culture of the first populations of Sakhalin, the Kurile Islands and Hokkaido: "More than 20,000 years ago, ancient hunters easily travelled through the mainland, Sakhalin and Hokkaido"; "Archaeologists find a lot in common in the making of arrow-heads and knives, when excavating in Primorie, Sakhalin and Hokkaido".

In the late Middle Ages, "the Japanese pressed the Aims further to the North of Hokkaido" and, in the 15th Century, they moved to the south of Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands. The Sakhalin historians picture the Japanese treatment of Aims in a negative way: "they (the Japanese) seized the lands, enslaved and killed the Aims, used bribery of chiefs, perfidy, slyness and force".

In recent times, Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands began to be discovered and actively exploited. Local historians tell not only of Russian expeditions, but of those from Europe and Japan. The copy of the first Japanese map of Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands is presented in this book, which means that the Japanese had already some idea about geographical location of Sakhalin at that time.

Relations of the neighbouring countries in the 19th Century are presented in the above book in connection with the armed conflict in Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands. The military expedition of N. Khvostov and G. Davydov is regarded as a shady undertaking, which "shadowed the Russo-Japanese relations, delayed the conclusion of the first Russia-Japan Trade Agreement and strengthened the position of Japan in Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands. Shimoda and St. Petersburg border treaties are presented by small extracts from the documents and described as the result of tough diplomatic negotiations.

The 20th Century traditionally opens with the Russo-Japan War, but the authors only describe war events on Sakhalin territory, supposing that the results of the peace negotiations depended on the outcome of minor combats. Their evaluation of the events is reflected in the questions they put to pupils: "Why did Japan's attempt to capture Kamchatka fail? What aims did Japan's government pursue in occupying Sakhalin? What are the reasons of the success of Japanese troops in Sakhalin?"

Special parts of this regional book are devoted to Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands in the years 1920-1925 and 1905-1945. The five years' presence of Japanese troops in Northern Sakhalin is defined as occupation; they are criticised for cruelty and plundering natural resources.

The fortunes of the territories which, by virtue of the Portsmouth Treaty became Japan's, are evaluated in two ways: on the negative side are the settlement policy, arrangements in economy and pillage of natural resources, whereas the construction of roads, development of transport and means of communication, (telephone and telegraph), educational and cultural initiatives, co-existence of different religions are defined as positive steps.

Explaining the USSR entering into the war with Japan, the Sakhalin authors accentuate the regional problems: plans of Japan to occupy Northern Sakhalin, Primorie, Kamchatka and the Baikal area; violations of the Soviet frontiers, arrests of merchant vessels, problems with the coal and oil concessions. The authors are sure that, during the war campaign of 1945, South Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands were liberated, and "the Soviet soldiers and officers restored their Motherland's possession of her far-eastern lands".

Russia-Japan relations of the second half of the 20th Century are described in the Sakhalin school-book more seriously than in federal ones. The chapter named "The problem of northern territories and the Sakhalin Oblast" consists of two parts: "The territorial issue in Soviet-Japan relations in the 1950-1980s" and "Russo-Japanese relations and the peace treaty problems". There are extracts from international agreements and opinions of both sides on territorial problems in this chapter. The results of M. Gorbachev's visit to Japan are viewed as a "concession which has weakened the position of the USSR in the territorial dispute", while B.Yeltsin is merited with having reduced the tension in the delineation problem and having shifted the focus towards economic and cultural cooperation.

In the summary, the authors give the general outline of Russo-Japanese relations on Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands and declare an interest in Sakhalin in the future development of such relations. The following line is drawn: in the 19th Century, the two countries fought for these lands; in the first half of the 20th Century, the southern part of Sakhalin and the Kurile islands are the "raw materials appendage" and Japan's military springboard of great strategic importance. "Today Sakhalin is keen on the development of relations with Japan in neighbourly trade, industry and culture."

"The history of Russian Primorie", published in Vladivostok in 1998, covers the same historical period: from ancient to present days. Points of "crossing" of the regional past and the history of Japan are, principally, the same as in Sakhalin; "Stone tools of the upper Palaeolithic are close to archaeological finds in Japan". Diplomatic and trade relations with the neighbouring country existed in the early Middle Ages. According to Japanese chronicles, a specific genre of theatricals ("bokai chaku") was very common in the country, as well as poetry competitions between Bohai and Japanese writers and people of wisdom and sporting contests".

In recent times, chapters of the book, cultural subjects are replaced by political and military topics, such as trade and border treaties of 1855-75, the deterioration of Russo-Japanese relations by the end of the 19th Century, the inevitability of a military conflict. Like their Sakhalin colleagues, the researchers in Primorie describe the Russo-Japan War within the boundaries of their territory. The idea to quote the War Manifestos of both Russian and Japanese Emperors seems original. Given without any comments or questions, the two texts create an interesting training situation, when comparison of the documents may be made from different points of view.

The Civil War, again within only the limits of the Territory, is described with a special accent on the provocation of Japanese invaders in April 1920.

The 1930s are pictured here as a permanent ominous build-up of Japanese forces on the USSR borders. The Khasan military conflict and the "Blitzkrieg" of 1945 are presented in a similar way to that of the federal school-books.

And it is only in the context of the foreign policy in the 1950s-1990s that the peaceful theme is revived by providing information on growing trade and economic political contacts and cooperation. Specially emphasised in the book is a particular position of Primorie in relations with Japan ("it is the starting point of a convenient transportation link to Siberia and the Far East, rich in natural resources, and to the northern part of the Eurasian mainland").

The last part of book is unique in describing the ethnic history of the Primorie peoples. Although the Japanese ethnic group was relatively small, a brief story is devoted to their economic activity, social life and education between 1870-1937. The authors could not help mentioning the fact that, although on foreign soil, the Japanese were able to preserve the values inculcated in them by their original society's system of training and education, such as patriotism, respect for elders, courtesy, physical perfection.

"The history of the Russian Far East in new and modern times" by A. Zavalishin, published in Khabarovsk in 1999, covers the past of the region from the 17th to the 20th Centuries. Japan appears as the focus of the regional history in the second half of the 19th Century only. Special emphasis is placed on the Russo-Japan Treaty of 1875 (exchange of islands) and on the issue of Japanese merchants penetrating into Russia's Far East economy, which (I quote) "was a nasty blow to Russia's interests" and "was criticised by the Russian public" and made the collision inevitable.

The Russo-Japan War of 1904-1905 is presented as a chain of tragic events and strategic miscalculations by the Russian command against the background of Japan's evident military and technical superiority. The authors underline the following economic consequence of the terms of the Portsmouth Treaty: "Japan's rehabilitated rights to fishing in Russia's territorial waters caused serious damage to Russia's fish stock in the Far East and to the economy of the region in general".

Some unusual photo illustrations to the war paragraphs put a new complexion to the traditional theme. One is a postcard issued in St. Petersbourg in 1905 on the occasion of the Portsmouth Peace, which bears portraits of leaders and symbols of Russia, Japan and the USA; another is a photograph signed: "Admiral Togo visits Vice-Admiral Z. Rozhestvensky in hospital". There is also a passage of S. Witte's memoirs recalling a friendly act of the Ambassador of Japan while visiting St. Petersbourg, and contemplating how the military power of Japan had been underestimated by Nicholas II and his ministers.

Unlike others, the book of A. Zavalishin is the only one where the improvement of Russo-Japanese relations, confirmed by some agreements and treaties in the years 1907-1916, is mentioned. The author even asks the question of whether post-war relations of the two countries could turn into friendship and cooperation.

In the years of the Civil War and intervention, Japan is listed, along with the USA, among the leading states that masterminded the conversion of Russia's Far East into a "raw materials appendage". An occupation regime would infringe upon Russian business interests and provoke the resistance of the people.

In the opinion of A. Zavalishin, the victory of the Bolsheviks and the liberation of the Russian Far East from the invaders did not make Japan give up its aggressive plans to occupy the Soviet territories. Japan's policy in China is presented in this textbook as preparation for the new offensive against the USSR. But, in contrast with the official Declaration of the Soviet Government on the cause of the Khasan Lake conflict in 1938, the author blames the Soviet troops for violating the border and criticises the then new military Soviet doctrine "Victory - at any cost".

The story of "August 1945" is of interest because of the Chapter "The fate of Japanese prisoners of war". Shown here are the severe conditions of life and labour of the former Kwantun army soldiers in NKVD camps, which had been hastily vacated by their former inhabitants. The author also writes about the relatives of the deceased prisoners visiting the burial places and their efforts in arranging the deserted cemeteries. "These actions, he asserts, favour the development of neighbourly relations between Russia and Japan."

Writing about the post-war international relations, the author of the Khabarovsk textbook, like his Primorie and Sakhalin colleagues, approves the development of trade, economic and cultural ties between Russia and Japan, leaving questionable political topics for diplomatic consideration.

The analysis of the school history textbooks, published in the Far East, may be summarised as follows:

1. The description of the history of Russo-Japanese relations in these books is brighter and more detailed than in federal textbooks.

2. Each region lays more stress on the aspects which it

deems most important for itself, ie territorial and/or economic problems, military conflicts, cultural cooperation etc.

It is not a mistake but rather a problem with regional researchers not able to step back from the traditional way of compiling their textbooks on history which are based mostly on military and political events.

4. As a result, students have to face a bellicose, conflicting, aggressive image of our close neighbour, although all the authors support the idea of comprehensive Russo-Japan cooperation.

General conclusions

1. The history of Japan and of Russo-Japanese relations is presented in federal school textbooks on world and Russian history for pupils of grades 5 - 11, as well as in those historical books published in the regions of Russia - neighbouring Japan.

2. In spite of the variety of methodological approaches and some authors' individual interpreting of certain historical events, the military, political and economic aspects of the past are prevalent in the contents of all school-books. The very few data available on culture, national principles and the outstanding people of Japan, as well as on Russo-Japanese cooperation in religion, economy, science, literature etc., are mostly associated with the Middle Ages and early new times.

3. No wonder, therefore, that the image of Japan in Russian history books is rather contradictory and inconsistent, as the pupils are first told of the common roots of the most ancient past of Sakhalin, Primorie and some Japanese islands and about the active relations of the first Far East states with their neighbours. Next comes a long list of military conflicts, victories and defeats, and then - some declaration of intention by both countries to develop neighbourly relations.

4. It is obvious that the reality of such plans lies in peoples' objective and positive knowledge of each other's history. In preparing such textbooks, along with scientific and educational approaches, the axiological criteria may also be helpful in selecting the material.

Such devices as ethno-psychological essays, publications by both sides of documents on controversial issues of those questioning official versions of historic events, "linking" the "bygones" with present days through the life-stories of some people - all this may become the normal, not exceptional, contents of school textbooks on history in the countries, which really wish to live in peace and concord.

Presentation by Dr T.N. Romanchenko, Primorie Institute for the Retraining and Advancement of School Teachers, Vladivostok

TEACHING THE HISTORY OF JAPAN IN RUSSIA'S FAR EAST SCHOOLS AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

First of all, I wish to express my sincere gratitude to the International Society for Educational Information, the Council of Europe and all of you for the invitation to participate in this Seminar. It is a great honour and responsibility for me.

While preparing my presentation, I looked for information in the Departments of Education of the Administrations of Khabarovsk Krai, Primorie, Sakhalin, Magadan Oblast, the Jewish Autonomous Oblast, Yakutia (Sakha) Republic, as well as in the Russian State Archives of the Far East.

At our last meeting in St Petersburg in June 1999, it was emphasised that the knowledge of the history and culture of Eastern Asia becomes very topical at the turn of the century.

It is especially important for our region, with its very specific geopolitical and cultural situation; it is important to us, first of all, in respect of the neighbouring countries: Japan, China, and the States of the Korean Peninsula.

At the St Petersbourg meeting, we discussed the important problem of interaction between Russia and Japan by means of school history education. I informed teachers and scientists of Primorie about the presentations made by Japanese researchers. These reports aroused the interest of the Primorie teachers, because it was for the first time that they had the opportunity to learn about the Japanese history curriculum lesson plans as well as the Japanese ways to interpret some particular events of Russian history. It led to a serious discussion about the place which Japan's history should occupy in Russian teaching programmes and in textbooks. The teachers also discussed what information pupils in the Far East get about Japan and where they get it from.

There are different ways of conveying historical knowledge to pupils. Due to geographic proximity to Japan, our children have the chance to get thorough and all-around knowledge about this country. Numerous joint economic and cultural projects are carried out in the Russian Far East. We get a lot of information about Japan from newspapers, magazines and TV-programmes. Festivals of Japanese culture, Kabuki Theatre tours, Ikebana shows, tea ceremonies take place in our cities. Festivals of Japanese films in Primorie have also become a tradition. Last summer, I visited one such Festival where both feature films (eg "I'll manage it", "Charisma", "It was in Spring", "Osaka story") and documentaries ("Life on the Agano River") were shown. The interest in this Festival was so keen that the auditorium was full, and many had to sit in the aisles.

A certain amount of knowledge about Japan is available to many children just from their families, for their fathers - fishermen and sailors -repeatedly call into Japan's ports.

Today, we can say that there is some progress in our relations with Japan in education, too. The exchange of children's groups, exhibitions of children's art, tours of folk ensembles and amateur performance groups have become regular. For instance, our Far Eastern children participated in the Forum held in the Fukuoku prefecture "Children as Peace Ambassadors"; children from Primorie have visited forums in the prefectures of Toyama (1992) and Shimane (1994) as well as the Children's Summit in the Tottori prefecture.

Schoolchildren from Toyama, Ishikawa, Fukui Prefectures used to visit Vladivostok. Pupils of the dancing school of Vladivostok and the Toyama private ballet school have exchanged performances. Orphaned children from Artyom City (Primorie) visited the Sea of Japan Children's Arts Festival held in the Tottori prefecture.

Last summer, pupils from school N° 80 (Khabarovsk) participated in archaeological expeditions together with Japanese scientists. Sporting exchanges also take place. So, the Children's Club "The Youth" hosted competitions with children from Japan in judo, sambo, karate and basketball.

A delegation from the Ishikawa Prefecture visited the colony for juvenile delinquents in Nakhodka (Primorie) last August.

With the assistance of the Consulate General of Japan in Vladivostok, regular competitions in the Japanese language are held for school pupils. There is every reason to say that schoolchildren are the ambassadors of people's diplomacy.

There are a few schools in the Russian Far East where the Japanese language is taught. These are: Gymnasium N° 3 and 4 in Khabarovsk, Gymnasium N° 1 and secondary school N° 51 in Vladivostok, a specialised school of the Institute for the Advancement of Teachers in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, school in Chuya Village (Megino-Kangalassk District, Republic Sakha). Japanese teachers work in these schools together with their Russian colleagues. The first Japanese school was opened in Primorie at the beginning of the 20th Century. There were about 4,000 Japanese living there at that time (over 2,000 lived in Vladivostok). Most of them had different professions: watchmakers, engravers, tailors. hairdressers and barbers, and merchants among others. In 1894, a primary school for Japanese children was opened in Vladivostok; in 1907, an elementary Japanese school, which began to work under Russian legislation in 1913. Among the subjects taught: Japanese, ethics, geography and the history of Japan, painting, needlework, gymnastics. 165 children were on the roll. There were also special evening classes for 106 adults.

At present, pupils of our schools (grades 6 - 11) receive information about the history and culture of Japan during the lessons of geography, literature, arts, music, technologies and -mainly - general history, and when studying the history of Russia and the Far East.

For example, during the geography lesson, pupils learn about the geographical location of Japan, its territory, population, about industry and agriculture, economic relations with foreign countries. By studying literature, they get to know Japanese poetry as well as fairy-tales, legends and other folklore.

The teaching of general history, including the history of Japan, is done using "federal" textbooks, which up to now concentrate mostly on Europe, while Asia is described as an "object of influence" by the "advanced" West. In six federal textbooks for grades 6 - 11, a bit more than 20 pages are devoted to Japan.

Another problem is the character of the historical knowledge received by pupils. Russian history education is oriented to the study of political and military history, but not ethnic and cultural history. So, the Russo-Japan War, the Intervention, disputed territories and border conflicts are mostly presented in the federal textbooks. Examples of a positive experience in cooperation between our countries are rare.

Books on the history and culture of Japan, published in Russia, are quite numerous, but they are, mainly, of a scientific nature, intended for specialists. Popular literature, translations of Japanese prose and poetry, the encyclopaedia "Japan: from A to Z" cannot be found in children's municipal and school libraries. Teachers, not just children, cannot get such books. Methodological literature for teachers on the history and culture of Japan and other Asia Pacific Rim countries is also not available. As a result, teachers give pupils some information from different sources, so it is not easy for children to understand, why and how a country which is small and not rich in natural resources became a leader of the world progress and of the Asia Pacific Rim development.

In Autumn 2000, we examined 500 pupils of grades10-11 from different Primorie schools: state and private, in villages and in towns, specialised and general. Pupils had to answer 27 questions on history, geography, literature and arts of Japan.

The pupils showed poor knowledge of the history and culture of Japan. For instance, out of 12 leading personalities from Japan, only Yasukhiro Nakasone was known. Most pupils characterise the Japanese as patriots of their country, clever, hard working, honest, cultured, educated, nature-loving people. 85% of the poll have a positive attitude to the Japanese, 10% - negative, 5% - treat the Japanese indifferently. Hearing the word "Japan", the children gave the following images: "Country of the rising sun", clean cities, a lot of cars, ikebana, tea ceremony, judo, sumo. When asked about the territorial dispute between Russia and Japan, 60% of the pupils mentioned the Kurile Islands. The children emphasised that they were interested, first of all, in Japan's culture, then - in its history and economy.

We were anxious to know whether pupils were satisfied with the information on Japan they received in school, and most of them said "no".

The results of the poll stressed the need to correct today's history programme and to prepare new books and manuals.

As early as in 1996, specialists in teaching methods and scientists from the Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography of the Far East Peoples (Russian Academy of Science) undertook to compile a special course for school grades 8-9 named "The history of Russian Primorie". The part on the "Ethnic history of Primorie" covered the social life of Asian ethnic minorities, ie the Chinese, the Koreans and the Japanese. In 1998, this well-illustrated book was published (circulation 50,000 copies), and, in 1999, it received a special Award of the 4th International Book Fair.

Vladivostok has long been a centre of the study of Japan in the Russian Far East. It was with the oriental studies that the higher education system started here 100 years ago. In 1899, the Oriental Institute - the first higher education institution in the Asian part of Russia - was founded. The

"Proceedings of the Oriental Institute" were published in 1900 - 1916. The publication was resumed in 1994. Situated in Vladivostok today are the Oriental Institute of the Far East State University, the Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography of Far East Peoples (Far East Branch, Russian Academy of Sciences). In 1996, the government of Japan established the Japanese Centre to share the experience and technologies with those who wish to use them in building new society in Russia. This Centre works under the supervision of the Consulate General of Japan in Vladivostok and maintains close relations with the Far East State University and Primorie Administration.

How to combine all the available information and to bring it closer to the pupils of our schools?

Together with scientists from the Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography of the Far East Peoples and researchers from the Far East State University, we have developed a project "The history and culture of Asia Pacific Rim countries". Its aim is to educate pupils to respect the culture, religions and habits of other countries, and to teach them to resist and overcome the national bias and ethno-phobia. This Project will give the opportunity to get to know much more about the history and culture of our neighbours. We plan to publish a set of methodological materials, consisting of a handbook for teachers, a textbook for pupils, a volume of documents and illustrations and materials to be issued to pupils.

At present, the teaching programme and the draft textbook "History and culture of Japan in documents and illustrations" have been prepared.

This book covers the period from ancient times to the present times. In it, direct access to copies of original historical document is available to pupils. "History and culture of Japan in documents and illustrations" supplements and illustrates the historical material presented in federal textbooks. The book has three parts:

Part I "The Japanese: character features, way of life, traditions" - briefly describes Japan, its people, customs, feasts, religions. Views of foreign visitors, as well as Japanese proverbs and sayings are given here.

Part II "History and culture of Japan" - contains extracts from the ancient chronicles "Kojiki" and "Nihon shoki", and tells about three sacred regalia: the Mirror, the Sword and the Jasper Pendant

The chapter "Ancient Japan" deals with Jomon ceramics.

The chapter "Formation of the early Japanese State" presents extracts from the Wei chronicles, the Shotoku Prince Constitution, the Taika Manifesto.

The chapter "Japan in the 7th - 12th Centuries" includes the Taihoryo Code of Laws, the Fudoki description of lands; the culture of this period is presented by an anthology of poetry; "Man'yoshu" and the first Japanese novel "Story of Genji".

The chapter "Formation of Samurai Power" - represented by extracts from the following documents: "The vow of Shikken Hojo Yasutoki and his advisers", "Goseiibai Shikimoku" code of laws, Tokuseiryo Decree of 1297, and peasants' complaints about the estate steward.

The chapter "Japan in modern times" informs pupils about Iyeyasu's Testament, a speech by Ooshio Haihachiro, the Family Code of Sumimoto House, the Treaty of Trade between Russia and Japan (Shimoda Treaty), the vow of the Meiji Emperor, the St Petersbourg Treaty of 1875, the Emperor's Decree on the establishment of Parliament, the Programme of the Constitution-Liberal Party, The Constitution of Japan, the Manifestos of Nicholas II and the Emperor of Japan in the context of the beginning of Russo-Japan War, and about the Portsmouth Peace Treaty of 1905.

The following documents are included in the Chapter "Japan in modern times": the non-aggression Pact between the USSR and Japan, the Constitution of 1947, the Peace

Treaty with Japan, the Security Agreement between the USA and Japan, the mutual USSR-Japan declarations of 19 October 1956 and of 10 October 1973. The culture of that time is presented by information about well-known Japanese writers such as Akutagawa, Kawabata, Oe, Misima.

Part III is devoted to friendly links between the Russian Far East and Japan, in the period from the second half of the 19th Century to the present time.

There are more than 100 pictures and drawings illustrating historical and cultural events. We addressed the Russian State Archive of the Far East to collect some documents on cooperation between Russia and Japan, starting from the end of the 19th Century. The list of some of them is as follows:

- a letter of the Russian Consulate in Hakodate - on the arrival of a Japanese schooner;

- a letter of the Governor- General of Eastern Siberia - on a Japanese settlement on the Muravyov-Amursky Peninsula;

- a report of the Primorie Military Governor on the Japanese community;

- the Russo-Japanese Fishing Agreement. The request of Japanese fish-traders on the arrangement of fish trades;

- a report of Kobelev about his trip to Hakodate. A speech of Spalvin "Japanese progress";

- a cable from Kharbin on the opening of Japanese language courses in Vladivostok;

- data on the Japanese population in Primorie Region in 1906-1907;

- information on the Japanese tour of Vladivostok. An invitation to participate in the Tokyo Industrial Exhibition. Advertisements of Japanese companies published in the

"Guide to Siberia and Manchuria" etc.

Each year, more than 5,000 teachers receive new historical information at the courses conducted by the Primorie Institute for Retraining and Advancement of School Teachers, where I work. Many of them really need the methodological literature on the history of Japan as well as of other countries of the Asia Pacific Rim.

We plan to publish a textbook the "History of Japan: events and heroes", which will combine scientific contents and popular narration.

As one Japanese proverb goes, "The road of 1,000 *ri* starts with the first step". During the one and a half years after our meeting in St Petersbourg, we have made a first step by having prepared the draft textbook "The history and culture of Japan in documents and illustrations".

But there is another Japanese wisdom: "Never think you have reached a sufficient level of understanding. Always say to yourself: it's not enough".

The Russian and the Japanese schools can do a lot for our peoples to abandon the old conceptions, to know much more about each other, to come to mutual understanding of the problems we face. The all-round cooperation of Russian and Japanese peoples meets the interests of both the nations. It is the children of today who will, in a period of 5 - 15 years, make the Russo-Japanese partnership in the Asia Pacific Region a reality. Such cooperation must favour the cause of peace and prosperity in APR, as well as the whole world.

The aim of the Far East teachers is to make their contribution in this process. There is a mutual attraction between our countries, and the creation of an atmosphere of mutual understanding and mutual respect among the peoples of the Asia Pacific countries depends on all of us.

IV. PRESENTATIONS OF THE JAPANESE EXPERTS .

Presentation by Professor TORIUMI YASUSHI

JAPAN'S FOREIGN POLICY AND RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA - FROM THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY TO THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

I am very pleased today to have the opportunity to talk in front of Dr Kisilev and our visitors from Russia, and of Ms Cardwell and her colleague from the Council of Europe.

The subject of my paper today is "Japanese Foreign Policy and Relations with Russia in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries". However, I could not help feeling a little hesitant when I chose this subject because this was a period during which our two countries went to war, and I did not want to look back on such an unhappy period.

At the Conference in St. Petersbourg in June 1999, I delivered a paper describing how Japanese high school history textbooks deal with Russo-Japanese relations in the recent past and modern times. On that occasion, I said that such textbooks should deal not solely with descriptions of war and conflict but with cultural contacts, such as the influence of Russian literature and theatrical art on the Japanese. I am very happy to see that, at this Conference, my suggestion at that time is reflected in the numerous papers, the subject of which is on the cultural and human contacts between our two countries from ancient times.

Having said that, however, we cannot simply ignore the historical fact that, in the recent past, our two countries went to war. I will attempt in my paper today to provide an historical explanation, as seen by the Japanese, of this very unhappy period in the relations between our two countries in the context of Japanese foreign policy.

Introduction

My main theme in the following pages will be Japan's consciousness of a foreign threat and the foreign policies it adopted between the late 19th and early 20th Century. In this context, I will concentrate particularly on the consideration of four points with respect to relations between Japan and Russia. Firstly, I wish to look at Japanese domestic reforms in the late 19th Century to see how, given the international climate at the time, they contributed to state objectives, and particularly to highlight the Japanese sense of crisis in the face of developments overseas. Secondly, I will be considering the interaction between Russo-Japanese relations and what was for Japan the focus of its foreign policy in the late 19th Century, that is to say the question of Korea. Thirdly, I will look at the circumstances of the Russo-Japanese war in order to find some sort of explanation for it. Fourthly and finally, I will attempt to elucidate the effect that Japan's rapid transformation into a powerful nation had on the international political situation in East Asia, and the effect that the transformation had on Japan's own position in the world.

1. Japan's domestic reforms and its consciousness of the foreign threat

At the end of the 19th Century, Japan had been through the Meiji Restoration and, just as it was putting every effort into domestic reforms aimed at building a modern nation-state, the world entered a period of imperialism. Externally, Japan was faced with the fact that Britain had made India into a full colony in 1877 and had annexed Burma (present-day Myanmar). Meanwhile, France had won a war with Qing China in the mid-1880s and, in 1887, established the French Indochina Federation. Russia took possession of the Primorskii, facing the Japan Sea, in 1860, and constructed a naval base at Vladivostok. In the 1890s, it steadily extended the Siberian Railway. Germany took possession of a number of South Pacific islands in the 1870s and 1880s, while the United States, a little behind the others, annexed Hawaii in 1898 and, in the same year, took possession of the Philippines and Guam after conducting a successful war against Spain.

This vigorous expansion towards the region around Japan by the western powers evoked a strong sense of crisis on the part of Japan's leaders and intellectuals. Japan was obliged to oppose these moves on the part of the western powers. Its primary national objective became the maintenance and reinforcement of national independence and achieving the strength to stand as an equal to the western powers. There were various attempts at home to hinder the process of domestic reform, but belief in this national objective was shared by both the government and its opponents.

The new Meiji government set up under the Emperor as a result of the Restoration quelled the civil disturbances which occurred in Japan in the 1860s and 1870s with relative ease and established political stability across the whole nation. The new government also dismantled the various feudalistic structures and pursued reforms with the aim of creating a nation-state in which the various classes were equal. The establishment of constitutional government was the most important theme in political reform. Under the leadership of the Meiji government, particularly Ito Hirobumi, the Meiji Constitution was promulgated in 1889, and, in the following year, the first Diet was convened, giving the people a voice in government. Japan thus achieved constitutional government in the 20 or so years following the Meiji Restoration in 1868, although the end product might not meet present-day democratic standards.

Japan pursued a programme of reforms using knowledge, systems and technology introduced from the West. Of particular importance in the economic context was the construction of a number of mechanised, mass-production factories, initially run by the government and then transferred to the private sector. Also of importance in the development of a modern industrial system was the establishment of banks and a banking system, the introduction of a monetary system, and the construction of new modes of transport and communications such as railways and the telegraph. Elsewhere, the government set up an education system extending from primary school to university. This satisfied the dual objectives of bringing enlightenment to the people and training leaders capable of contributing to the development of the country. By the beginning of the 20th Century, school attendance rates during the six years of compulsory education had risen to 98%.

The success of these domestic reforms removed, for the time being, the threat of a direct military attack on Japan by the western powers. However, that success did not remove the sense of crisis felt by the Japanese. The country's leaders and intellectuals continued to feel strongly that, even in the absence of a direct military threat, the colonisation of regions neighbouring Japan would put its own independence at risk. This sense of threat from abroad, and the nationalism to which it gave rise, had existed at the time of the Restoration but had been relatively restrained, restricted as it was mainly to the samurai class. Now, however, the recognition of the people's political and social rights as a result of domestic reforms meant that a much broader swathe of people were aware of it. The foreign threat and burgeoning nationalism cannot be ignored in any consideration of Japanese foreign policy during this period.

2. The Korean Problem in Japan's Foreign Policy

To achieve the national objective noted above, Japan, at the end of the 19th Century had to confront two substantive and important foreign policy considerations. The first was the need to revise and render equal the unequal treaties which the bakufu[1] had concluded with western countries before the Meiji Restoration (unequal treaties in that western powers were accorded extraterritorial rights but Japan was not permitted to set its own customs tariffs). By doing so Japan would achieve a status in the world equal to that of the western nations. The second consideration related to Japan's national security, in pursuance of which it was deemed essential that the neighbouring regions should be within Japan's own sphere of influence.

Having said that, however, Japan was at the time still much weaker than the western powers and would have found itself unequal to the task of achieving these foreign policy objectives. Japan, therefore, decided to deal with the immense threat it perceived in the expansion of the western powers into East Asia by maintaining relations with the West which were as harmonious as possible. It also decided to use the antagonism the powers felt toward each other to pursue the policies necessary for the achievement of the objectives it had set itself. This was Japan's basic foreign policy stance.

One of the key foreign policy considerations noted above concerned revisions to the unequal treaties. When Japan had established a modern western-style legal system and constitutional government and had succeeded in building up its strength as a nation, Britain and the other powers acceded to its requests to renegotiate the treaties. As a result, new treaties of commerce and navigation, which recognised complete equality between the signatories, were concluded in 1894 and 1911.

Less tractable from Japan's point of view, however, and more problematic from the point of view of international relations, was the second of the two foreign policy considerations noted above - i.e. the establishment of its own sphere of influence in the neighbouring region. When the Japanese spoke of such a region being inextricably linked to Japan's own security, they were thinking principally of the Korean peninsula. In the 1870s and 1880s, it was not unusual for Japan's leaders and intellectuals, or even ordinary citizens who had by now become concerned for their country's destiny, to see a threat to Japan's national independence should one of the powers (and particularly Russia) win control of the peninsula. This thinking led the Japanese government to seek to achieve a position of influence in Korea by preempting any incursions into the peninsula on the part of the western powers. This it would do by encouraging Korea, which at the time had adopted a closed-door policy, to open up the country. Japan would then support modernizing reforms within the country.

This policy toward Korea on the part of Japan, however, raised China's ire, since, under the Qing dynasty, it regarded itself as the centre of international order in East Asia, and with Korea being a vassal state. In the 1880s, the Korean question, and a coup in Korea, led to a number of isolated and small scale military clashes between Japan and China, but the governments of both countries wanted to avoid all-out conflict. Under the Tianjin Convention signed in 1885, both sides agreed to withdraw their forces from Korea. In Japan at that time, however, there was considerable antipathy toward Korea and China. The anti-government popular rights movement, in particular, called for a military expedition, and bitterly criticised as pusillanimous the government's policy of peaceful resolution. We can see in this development a pattern which is characteristic of decision making in modern Japanese foreign relations, in which the government, adopting a realistic stance based on the international situation, seeks a conciliatory solution, only to be attacked as cowardly by its opponents who wanted a hardline foreign policy based on nationalism. This deserves mention as a significant and frequently observed characteristic of modern Japanese history.

From the mid-1880s and into the 1890s, progress made by Russia on its trans-Siberian railway project caused a further escalation in the sense of threat felt by Japan over Korea. The Japanese government's policy toward Korea gradually became stronger. In 1890, just before the convening of the first Imperial Diet, Prime Minister Yamagata Aritomo presented a written foreign policy statement to the cabinet in which he described Korea as Japan's `line of interest'. By this he meant that Japan's security was inextricably linked to Korea. He also forecast that the completion of the Siberian Railway would mean that Russian power could be projected eastwards in a single burst, encompassing Korea. He thus showed great concern for peace and stability in East Asia and for maintaining Japan's national independence. Around this time, politicians, journalists and commentators claimed that Russia was building the railway not for economic development but for military transportation and declared it an impending foreign threat.

There was a rising clamour in Japan warning against the menace posed by Russia, and sometimes this provoked hysterical reactions. One example of this was the unfortunate Otsu Incident in 1891, in which a Japanese policeman, acting as escort for the Russian Crown Prince (later Tsar Nicholas II), who had stopped off in Japan on his way to Vladivostok to attend the completion ceremony for the Siberian railway, suddenly slashed out and injured the Crown Prince.

3. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the Russo-Japanese War

The Korean question was the root cause of the Sino-Japanese War which broke out in 1894, although I will omit the details of what led to it or how it was fought. Suffice it to say that Japan's victory in the war gave it the right to be heard on matters concerning East Asia, while the defeated China now found itself being invaded by competing western powers and faced the prospect of being semi-colonised.

Nevertheless, Japan's victory in its war with China did not necessarily mean it had achieved its policy objective of bringing Korea within the orbit of Japanese power. This is because, while Chinese power on the Korean peninsula had been reduced, Russia had achieved a position of influence. In 1895, immediately after the signing of a peace treaty between Japan and China, Russia, joined by France and Germany, disputed the terms of the treaty (the Tripartite Intervention) and forced Japan to return the Liaodung peninsula which it had acquired from China. Three years later, however, Russia itself leased the southern part of the peninsula from China and proceeded to build a strong military base there. Later, the Boxer Rebellion in 1900 provided Russia with the opportunity to send a large force to occupy Manchuria (the north-eastern area of present-day China), and to put an army on the Korean border.

These moves on the part of Russia posed a major threat to Japan, because, if Russia was to subjugate Manchuria, Japan's influence in Korea would be completely eroded. Japan, therefore, decided that, to confront Russia, it would join up with Britain. The Foreign Minister in the Katsura administration of the time, Komura Jutaro, wrote an opinion paper to the effect that such an alliance would provide lasting benefits in negotiations with Russia and would help achieve an advantageous resolution to the Korean problem. Also taken into consideration were a number of other factors, such as fiscal and trade benefits, Chinese antipathy toward Russia, and the balance of naval power. It was determined that an alliance with Britain would be good policy for Japan, and this became the basic position of the Japanese government. Britain, at the time, had serious concerns about the expansion of Russian power in East Asia, so Japanese and British interests coincided. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance was signed in 1902. This was the first alliance Japan had concluded on an equal footing with one of the western powers.

The conclusion of the Alliance did not mean that Japan intended immediately to initiate a military confrontation with Russia. In fact, it wanted to avoid this eventuality if at all possible. However, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance created, in the international conditions at that time, the conditions for a minor country like Japan to confront a major nation such as Russia.

The Japanese government subsequently negotiated to get Russian recognition of Japanese paramountcy and leadership in Korea in exchange for Japanese recognition of Russian paramountcy in Manchuria. Meanwhile, however, in Japan, a large number of powerful non-governmental newspapers launched a campaign for war with Russia. Japan had chosen diplomatic negotiations in the light of military and fiscal considerations, and out of concern for the international implications of acquiring a "Yellow Peril" reputation. As it became clear, however, that Japan's demands with respect to Korea were not going to be met, the Japanese government decided in January 1904 to go to war, and hostilities commenced in February.

It is not sufficient to consider the causes and prosecution of the Russo-Japanese war simply in terms of the relations between the two protagonists. Rather, it is necessary to take a broad, multi-faceted approach embracing the international position of East Asia and the domestic circumstances of the countries involved against the background of developments in world history at the end of the 19th Century and the beginning of the 20th Century. In particular, it should not be forgotten that this war was fought not on Japanese or Russian territory, but on Chinese and Korean territory.

In the 1950s and 1960s there was a vigorous debate among Japanese historians as to whether the Russo-Japanese war was a war of aggression on Japan's part (an imperialist war) or a war of self-defence. Today, however, most historians would regard this choice of one or the other as not really useful. (In passing, I would refer you to my report on a conference held in St. Petersbourg in June 1999 for information on how modern Japanese junior high and senior high school history textbooks treat the Russo-Japanese war.)

Since the 1970s, there has been an increasing amount of important research carried out on the war using primary materials in Japan, but Japanese researchers have been unable to make full use of primary materials in Russia. It is to be hoped that future academic and cultural interchange will help remedy this.

4. International friction and Japan's position after the Russo-Japanese War

The war in which Japan gambled its destiny was fought hard, but, while Japan had the upper hand, US President Theodore Roosevelt's intervention brought the war to an end in September 1905.

The fact that Japan, which had been regarded as a minor country in East Asia, could, against all expectations, take on and defeat a major white nation such as Russia was greeted with shock around the world. The significance of the victory from Japan's point of view was that it could now be ranked alongside the powers of Europe and America on the world stage, thereby achieving a national objective that had existed since the Meiji Restoration. At the same time, however, Japan's victory created a new source of friction in international relations, and Japan found itself in an extremely difficult position in the world.

Under the treaty ending the war (the Portsmouth Treaty), Japan won Russian recognition for its control of Korea, and, in 1910, Japan annexed the country. It also took over various Russian interests in southern Manchuria, thereby creating a new power bloc in northeast Asia. Moreover, 10 years after the Russo-Japanese war, Japan joined the allies at the outbreak of the First World War, and, as one of the victors, it took over German interests in China and was mandated by the League of Nations to administer Germany's pre-war south-sea island possessions north of the equator. It thus acquired new interests in China and the Pacific region.

However, one result of this rapid expansion of Japanese power was that it generated a number of new points of contention in international relations. The first point concerns relations with the countries of East Asia. Japan's defeat of Russia greatly stimulated the development of popular movements in Asia. At the same time, however, since it had joined the western powers in pursuing a policy of colonisation in China and Korea, Japan now found itself the main target of those same popular movements. In both China and Korea, such movements made the overthrow of 'Japanese imperialism' their primary objective.

The second point concerns relations with the western powers. Because of the rapid expansion of Japanese power into East Asia, the west became very suspicious at the appearance of a potentially dangerous new rival. This was especially so in the case of America, with which until then, Japan had had close and harmonious relations, but with whom numerous points of contention had now appeared. Japan's Manchurian Railway interests was one such point of contention, and another was the question of immigrants to America. In both cases, a subtly felt antagonism had developed.

Japan was, with Britain, the USA, France and Italy, one of the five members of the supreme committee at the Paris Peace Conference convened after the First World War (1919). It also became a permanent member of the Council of the League of Nations. However, a proposal to abolish racial discrimination put forward by Japan at the Conference was opposed by the USA, Britain and others, and it failed to be adopted. This caused disappointment on the part of many Japanese, who felt that the West still did not accept their country as an equal partner.

Conclusion

As related above, Japan had, in the half-century or so since the Meiji Restoration, become a powerful country which could stand alongside the western nations on the world stage. It had thus achieved one of its primary objectives. From that moment on, however, Japan straddled a line between East and West, feared by both and trusted by neither. It, therefore, faced the prospect of becoming internationally isolated.

While the First World War was still raging, the Russian Revolution led to the overthrow of Tsarist Russia and the setting up of a Soviet government. This caused major changes in Japanese foreign policy towards Russia. The impact that the Russian Revolution had on Japanese politics, society and thought, and Japan's response to this is an important and interesting subject for study in the context of Russo-Japanese relations after the First World War. It will, however, have to wait for another different occasion and a different paper.

Presentation by Professor MATSUMURA MASAYOSHI

AN OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF RUSSO-JAPANESE RELATIONS

Introduction

Almost everything written on the history of relations between Japan and Russia has been written from the standpoint of diplomatic or military history. Historical depictions have, therefore? been deeply imbued with hostility and hatred as they described the various border disputes and incidents between the two countries, or the wars and the maltreatment of prisoners and internees. In the following pages, I would like to take a fresh look at this gloomy picture of relations between the two countries from the point of view of the history of international interchange.

The materials you have before you, I believe, give a fairly clear understanding of most of the points I wish to make. Given time limitations, therefore, it is perhaps best if today I touch only briefly on the points made in the materials and use the time saved to describe matters not so covered in this way.

1. Castaways in Siberia and the Japanese language school provide opportunities for trade with Japan

According to surviving records, in the late 17th Century an Osaka merchant whom the Russians called Dembei was shipwrecked on the Kamchatka Peninsula and sent to Moscow where, in January 1702, he had an audience with Tsar Peter I. The Tsar built the capital of St. Petersbourg in 1703 and, two years later, set up a Japanese language school there. Dembei was appointed teacher in what was the world's first Japanese language school. It was moved to Irkutsk in 1753.

In July 1783, Daikokuya Kodayu, the captain of a vessel out of the province of Ise, and his crew of 17 drifted ashore in the Aleutian Islands. (Here and elsewhere the Japanese practice of giving family names first is used.) In 1791, they accompanied the botanist Laksman to St. Petersbourg and, at an audience with the Tsarina Catherine II, petitioned to be allowed to return home. The Tsarina ordered the repatriation of Kodayu and a number of others, hoping that this would provide the opportunity to establish trade relations with Japan.

Laksman was appointed emissary and, with Kodayu and two others, set off for Japan. In September 1792, they landed at Nemuro in Ezochi (present day Hokkaido). The three Japanese were the first castaways (shipwrecked persons) from Russia to return to their native soil. However, Laksman was unable to fulfil his main objective, and only received a `shimpai' or permit to land on a subsequent visit. This permit was used by another emissary, Rezanov, who landed at Nagasaki in September 1804, this time with a man called Tsutaifu and three other castaways from the province of Mutsu. Again, however, he was able to achieve no more than the delivery of the Japanese castaways. Russian doubts about Japan were heightened.

2. An exchange of prisoners

A senior officer in the Russian navy, Captain Khvostov, shared Rezanov's concerns about Japan, and, in September 1806, he launched a surprise attack on a Japanese settlement on Aniwa Bay in the southern part of Sakhalin. This and a further attack on Japanese fishing vessels operating off Etorofu Island in April of the following year are known as the Khvostov Incidents.

The bakufu[2] reacted to these incidents in two ways. Firstly, it ordered a survey of Sakhalin by Mamiya Rinzo. Secondly, in June 1811, Lieutenant Commander Golovnin, captain of the Russian frigate, Diana, was captured and imprisoned with his crew on Kunashiri Island. The prison lives of these Russians in Matsumae and Hakodate left behind a cultural legacy of great value in the relationship between Japan and Russia.

In an attempt to secure the release of the prisoners, in

August 1812, Russia captured Takadaya Kahei, the master of the Kanze Maru, and his crew off the island of Kunashiri and took them to Kamchatka. The bakufu used their Russian prisoners to learn the Russian language, and Golovnin himself wrote an account of his captivity which helped correct the view that Russians had of Japan at that time.

3. Opening the country to Russia and acquiring a knowledge of western shipbuilding

In August 1853, a Russian naval squadron commanded by Admiral Putyatin in his flagship, the "Pallada", anchored off Nagasaki. The bakufu, adopted a policy of procrastination and Putyatin had to leave not satisfied with the negotiations. However, he returned in October on the "Diana", appearing suddenly in Osaka Bay and threatening the people of Kyoto and Osaka with bombardment. Left with little alternative, the bakufu agreed to negotiate with Putyatin at Shimoda on the east coast of the Izu Peninsula. However, on 4 November, during the first day's negotiations, the Tokai area was struck by a major earthquake and Shimoda itself was hit by a huge tidal wave. The "Diana" was badly damaged and forced to divert to Heda on the west coast of the peninsula for repairs. On the way, it sank in heavy winds, depriving Putyatin of the means to return to Russia.

He, therefore, decided to build a replacement vessel. The bakufu gave its permission and large numbers of Japanese ships' carpenters were mobilised to do the work. This was the first opportunity for the Japanese to learn western shipbuilding using a keel. Furthermore, throughout the project, the Japanese and Russians got on well together - so well, in fact, that Putyatin named the ship, which was completed in March 1855, the "Heda". Putyatin and part of his crew returned to Russia on the "Heda", with the rest following in June on a German ship. On the departure of the latter group from Japan, a man called Tachibana Kosai smuggled himself on board and went to Russia. In July 1865, the bakufu sent its first group of students overseas to study in Russia, although the ban on Japanese travelling overseas was still in force.

4. Father Nikolai and Pro-Russian Japanese

For geographical reasons, the port to which most Russian ships came after the signing of the Russo-Japanese Treaty of Amity in 1855 was Hakodate, and it was through Hakodate that Japan had an early glimpse of Russian culture. A Russian consulate was established there in September 1858, the first appointee to the post being Consul Goshkevich.

A priest, later cardinal, by the name of Father Nikolai arrived in Hakodate in July 1861 to take up his duties at the consulate. He had decided to carry out missionary work in Japan after coming across Golovnin's account of his imprisonment in Japan in the library of St. Petersbourg's Theological University, because he was so interested in what he read. Nikolai had to return to Russia temporarily in 1869 to set up the Japan Missionary Society, but he returned to Japan in April 1871 to begin full-scale missionary activities. In January 1872, he moved the centre of his missionary activities to Tokyo, first to Tsukiji and, then in September, to Surugadai. Meanwhile, he had attracted a large following of people who wanted to learn Russian or to study Russian affairs, and he had become well known. He made friends with people such as the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Soejima Taneomi, who frequently visited him to discuss foreign affairs. In passing, the famous Nikolai Church in Surugadai was completed just before the Sino-Japanese War in March 1891.

5. The introduction of a telegraph service between Nagasaki and Vladivostok

In the 1860s, there were two companies operating a telegraph service between East Asia and Europe: Britain's Eastern Telegraph Company and Denmark's Great Northern Telegraph Company. The former linked London up with Gibraltar, Egypt, India, Singapore, Hong Kong and Australia, while the latter went from Europe across Siberia to Vladivostok and, later, by undersea cable to Nagasaki, Shanghai and Hong Kong. This service was opened on 1 January 1872, with a link between Nagasaki and Tokyo completed in 1873. The charges for telegrams sent over the northern route served by the Great Northern were cheaper than those for the southern route operated by the Eastern Telegraph. They were also less subject to interruptions and, therefore, faster. The service was much improved with the opening of an undersea line laid across the Pacific via Ogasawara, Guam and Hawaii in 1906, just after the Russo-Japanese war, until that time, telegrams between Japan and America had had to go via Europe. Needless to say, the preferred northern route could not be used during the Russo-Japanese war.

6. The Maria Luz incident and international arbitration

In June 1872, a Peruvian sailing ship, the Maria Luz, carrying 230 coolies to Peru from Macao, a Portuguese territory leased from China, was caught in a violent storm and suffered damage to its masts and hull. It made an emergency stop in the port of Yokohama, where two of the coolies, unable to stand further illtreatment on board the ship, jumped overboard and sought help from a British warship anchored there.

This event was communicated to the acting British chargé d'Affaires who, in turn, contacted the State Minister for Foreign Affairs, Soejima Taneomi, and urged the Japanese government to regard the matter as the illtreatment of slaves. Soejima took the view that, as Japan had not concluded a treaty of amity and friendship with Peru, the case fell under Japan's jurisdiction, and he, therefore, convened an international court under Ohe Taku, the Governor of Kanagawa Prefecture, to hand down a decision. The court found in favour of the Japanese government and the coolies were released and returned to China. The Peruvian government, however, was not satisfied with Japan's handling of the case and demanded an apology and compensation. The Japanese government there submitted the case to international arbitration under the Tsar of Russia. On 29 May 1875, Tsar Alexander II decided that Japan was not liable for compensation, leaving

Japan the ultimate victor. It must be said, however, that behind the Tsar's finding in favour of Japan was the conclusion of a treaty for the exchange of Sakhalin and the Kurils, signed in St. Petersbourg just three weeks before, on 7 May by the Ambassador Extraordinary of Japan, Enomoto Takeaki, and his Russian counterpart, Gorchakov.

7. The establishment of a trade office in Vladivostok

Enomoto stayed on as Ambassador Extraordinary in the Russian capital after the signing of this treaty. He negotiated with the Russian government about the establishment of a consulate in Vladivostok, but both sides finally settled on the establishment of a trade office, which was set up in June 1876. The first appointee to the post of Trade Officer was Sewaki Hisato, but an important change occurred as early as that Autumn with the appointment to the post of Secretary of Kuroda Kiyotaka, until then the Director of the Hokkaido Colonisation Office, who organised a trade fair for Hokkaido products. This trade office was elevated to the status of consulate general on 1 October 1909, with Otori Fujitaro becoming the first Consul General.

8. The collapse of Russo-Japanese relations following the Otsu Incident

As indicated above, relations between the two countries from the end of the Edo period to the first half of the Meiji period were relatively amicable. From the Otsu Incident in May 1891, however, relations rapidly deteriorated. This Incident, named after the town in Shiga Prefecture where it occurred, involved a sword attack by a patrolling policeman called Tsuda Sanzo on the Russian Crown Prince Nicholas II, who was in a rickshaw on his way to Tokyo after disembarking from his ship in Nagasaki. While profuse apologies were offered by the government and the whole nation and the matter was laid to rest, the Crown Prince never again felt warm feelings towards Japan.

In 1894, this same Crown Prince late became Tsar Nicholas II and listened to the views of the German Kaiser Wilhem II on the dangers of the "Yellow Peril". He decided to forestall Japan, then rapidly undergoing modernisation, and realise his dream of eastward expansion. As a first step, in April 1895, Russia joined Germany and France in the Tripartite Intervention, a successful attempt to force Japan to return the Liaodong peninsula to China. It had been ceded to Japan after the Sino-Japanese War. In the following year, however, Russia leased the same area from China and proceeded to use it for military purposes. The Japanese had to suffer this for 10 years before taking revenge. Next, in 1900, after a joint international military expedition had brought the Boxer Rebellion to a successful conclusion, the Russians showed no sign of withdrawing their troops from Manchuria, and in fact looked set to occupy the Korean peninsula in the south.

Japan, out of fear for its own safety and independence, then laid down a challenge which led to the outbreak of war with Russia in February 1904. After a series of Japanese military victories, President Theodore Roosevelt intervened to mediate between the two sides, leading to a Peace Treaty signed at Portsmouth in September of the following year. Japan secured the right to occupy the Liaodong peninsula and, while it received no reparations, it acquired the southern half of Sakhalin and ownership of the South Manchuria Railway.

9. Yesterday's enemy is today's friend

After the war with Russia, relations between Japan and the United States, which had until then been amicable, began to deteriorate as a result of the Japanese immigration question and Manchuria, particularly Japan's control of the railway. Japan had received no reparations under the Portsmouth Treaty, and, in addition, owed ¥800 million to holders of the foreign bonds it had issued in Britain and the US. Russia, however, was supported by the powerful economy of France, with whom it had an alliance. Japan was, therefore, concerned about the consequences of a possible war of revenge waged by Russia.

This led to the idea of an agreement between the two countries, which was realised in the form of an entente which included a secret agreement and was renewed four times in 10 years (1907, 1910, 1912 and 1916). The agreement established the respective areas of influence and interest of Russia and Japan, both of which pledged to respect each other's positions in those areas, and to provide joint defence and mutual assistance. At the non-governmental level, the Japan-Russia Society, set up in 1902 under the chairmanship of Enomoto Takeaki and embodied the situation prior to the war by close study of Russia, helped, together with the Russo-Japanese Agreement, in the establishment of friendly relations after the war. Given what implacable enemies the two countries were at the time of the war, this really goes to show that yesterday's enemy can be today's friend.

10. The Russian Revolution and the Siberian Expedition

However, the period of friendship indicated by the Russo-Japanese Agreement was not to long last. The revolution in Russia in October 1917, towards the end of the First World War, saw the establishment of a communist government which could not be other than incompatible with Japan's constitutional monarchy. Relations between Russia (by now the Soviet Union) and Japan again deteriorated.

In addition to this, in April 1918, Japan and the United States preceded other countries in sending troops to Siberia, in what was known as the Siberian Expedition. The Soviet government reacted to this foreign intervention with partisan warfare using what amounted to guerrilla tactics, and, in 1920, massacred the Japanese inhabitants of Nikolaevsk at the mouth of the Amur river. Japan used this incident to justify the protective occupation of the northern part of Sakhalin for the next five years. Also, in 1920, the Republic of the Far East was set up under the leadership of Krasnoshichokov. The Soviet government at first regarded this as a buffer state between it and Japan, but it annexed the buffer state after Japanese troops were withdrawn in 1922.

11. The Great Kanto Earthquake and the Relief Ship "Lenin"

On 1 September 1923, before relations between Japan and the Soviet Union had been re-established, a major earthquake struck the Kanto region of Japan. Hearing news of this, the Central Committee of the Soviet Union ordered the Far East Revolutionary Council immediately to despatch a vessel carrying foodstuffs and other materials to aid the Japanese people. In compliance with this, the Primorskii State Aid Committee sent a relief team together with wheat, rice, fish and building materials on a ship which had been renamed the "Lenin". The ship left Vladivostok on 8 September and arrived at the port of Yokohama on 12 September.

The Japanese administration, at the second cabinet of Yamamoto Gombei, was at first inclined to accept this offer of aid, as it did in the case of similar offers from other countries. However, intelligence from Vladivostok suggested that the vessel also carried a propaganda team and propaganda materials directed at Japanese workers. The security authorities were alarmed at this and the Martial Law Enforcement Headquarters for the Kanto region decided to force the "Lenin" to depart. On 13 September, the ship was ordered to leave Japanese waters. The relief team on the "Lenin" protested at the indifference of the Japanese reception but began their return journey on 14 September, their mission unaccomplished.

The Soviet Union's Foreign Minister issued a statement of protest. Japan was concerned that the incident might prevent the normalisation talks that were about to begin and responded by instructing Yoshizawa Kenkichi, the Japanese Minister to China, to express regret for the "Lenin" incident and to sound out the Soviet Union's attitude to Japan. This was the origin of a conference between the two countries in Beijing, with the Soviet-Japanese Basic Convention being signed two years later, in January 1925.

12. The Second World War and the Cold War

With the establishment in March 1932 of the Japan-aided state of Manchukuo as a result of the Manchurian Incident in the previous September, Japan and the Soviet Union had, between them, formed a long border in the north-east Asian region. This led to a series of military clashes, the Changgufeng Incident occurred in July 1938 and the Nomonhan Incident in May 1939. (In passing, the actress Okada Yoshiko and the film producer Sugimoto Ryokichi defected to the Soviet Union through the border in Sakhalin in January 1938.)

The Japanese army's defeat forced a change in the direction of Japan's expansion from north to south. This change in strategy was secretly communicated to Stalin by the famous spies, Sorge and Ozaki Hotsumi. Then, in September, four months after the Nomonhan Incident, Germany's invasion of Poland signalled the start of the Second World War. Meanwhile, a Tripartite Pact between Japan, Germany and Italy was signed in September 1940 and, in December of the following year, war in the Pacific broke out, eight months after Japan and the Soviet Union had signed a Neutrality Pact.

The Soviet Union, however, unilaterally tore up the Neutrality Pact and declared war on Japan on 9 August 1945 on the basis of a secret commitment at the Yalta Conference held towards the end of the war, when Japan's defeat seemed likely. The greatly superior Soviet army immediately advanced into Manchukuo and attacked the Guandong Army, much of which had been transferred to fight in the southern region, and was easily overwhelmed by the Russian onslaught. On 11 August, a separate unit of the Soviet army crossed the border at a latitude of 50 degrees and attacked southern Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands. The fighting went on for a week even after Japan's acceptance of the terms of the Potsdam Declaration on 15 August. The outcome was that the Soviet Union incorporated all the Kuril Islands into its territory on the basis of the Yalta Agreement, thus giving rise to a disagreement with Japan, which insists that four of the islands are part of its territory. No solution to this problem has been found, even 55 years after the end of the war.

A further problem is the treatment of the Japanese prisoners of war who, after the surrender, were rounded up in northeast Asia, incarcerated in concentration camps in Siberia and, in contravention of international law, subjected to forced labour on railway and road construction. Of the approximately 600,000 prisoners in the camps about 60,000 died. Because of this, many Japanese today still harbour feelings of abhorrence and distrust of Russia.

13. Summary

Half a century or so has passed since these events. With General Secretary Gorbachov's adoption of the policies of `glasnost' and `perestroika' in 1986, just prior to the break-up of the Soviet Union, the Japanese and other people who lived on the four northern islands have been allowed to visit their family graves and to travel there without visas. There is one instance of humanitarian contacts between the two nations which deserves special mention. This was the emergency airlifting and successful medical treatment of Konstantin, a Sakhalin child who had been burned over his entire body, at Sapporo University Hospital.

I would also like to note in passing an occurrence when I first visited Vladivostok early in September, mainly for the purpose of visiting areas associated with the Russo-Japanese War, which were relevant to my own area of specialisation. Ms. Romanchenko, who is here today, and others greatly assisted me during my visit. One of the places I visited had a large bronze statue of Admiral Makharob and bore the inscription "An Admiral and a Scholar". While I knew of Makharob as an admiral, I did not know of his reputation as a scholar. On being shown further around the Primorskii Krai Museum, I saw that it not only contained the bronze statue of the admiral but also evidence of the great contribution he had made to the museum, and, for the first time, realised that the admiral was not only a `scholar' but also a man of culture, and a man who is held in great esteem in Vladivostok.

In similar fashion, Japanese people today, including myself, have tended to regard Russia as `European Russia', and Siberia is seen at second hand, from the perspective of Moscow. It seems that our direct knowledge of Siberian Russia, although it is only separated from us by the Japan Sea, is woefully inadequate. This lack of knowledge accounts for the astonishment of almost all my acquaintances when I mention that I have just come back from visiting the battle sites of the Russo-Japanese war, a visit made possible by recent developments.

The problem of the Northern Territories is still with us, but future peace and even friendlier relations between our two countries depends on greater interchange and a greater knowledge of the history of the region. For this reason, Japanese school textbooks should pay greater attention to Siberian Russia for the sake of the younger generation who must bear responsibility for developments in the 21st century.

Presentation by Professor TAMURA KOICHI

BOHAI EXCAVATION

Examination of Bohai related ruins in southern Primorskii. The first examination of ruins related to Bohai (AD 698-926) in the southern part of Primorskii was undertaken by the Russian researcher, Mr. Busse, shortly after this area came under Russian control in the latter half of the 19th Century. Japanese researchers were also interested in Bohai related ruins from early on because of their connection to the Bohai Ribendao (Japan Route). The Ribendao was one of the five main Bohai routes (Ribendao, Chaogongdao, Xinluodao, Quidandao and Yingzhoudao). According to the records, it was a route running from the Bohai capital (Shangjing = Dongjing cheng), via Dongjing, to the southeast coast of the Eurasian continent and then Japan. In spite of the lack of research, some Japanese researchers around 1910 had begun to think that the ships had left from the Vladivostok area, but eventually the Poset Bay area was considered as being the most likely place. However, as this was in an area close to the Russian border, it could not be investigated at that time. In the 1950s, Professor Shavkunov began to investigate the ruins at the Kraskino fortified settlement on the northern shore of Poset Bay and claimed that it was a Bohai fortified settlement. These findings were immediately passed on to Chinese colleagues and, in the 1980s, the Chinese researcher, Wang Xia, first connected the ruins to the Ribendao.

As can be gathered from the above explanation, Japanese researchers had long been interested in the Bohai related ruins in southern Primorskii but were unable to examine them for many years. However, this situation changed with the changeover from the Soviet Union to the Russian Federation, and, since 1992, Professor Tamura has been in charge of investigating Bohai related ruins as one of the Society of Northern Eurasian Study projects. At present, his team is cooperating with Russian researchers to excavate one part of the Kraskino fortified settlement.

Bohai related ruins are concentrated in three areas: Ussuriisk, the River Iristaya and Kraskino. The first two excavations were at the Sinyerinikobo hill-fort in the River Ussurii area. From these, it emerged that the castle walls had been constructed during two different periods, that he walls had been rebuilt after they had be destroyed by fire and that, while Bohai pots were present in the upper level of the rebuilt walls, there were many more Mohe pots in the lower levels. This has led the researchers to believe that the hill fort was originally built by the Mohe, but was destroyed and rebuilt by the Bohai during the Bohai period. It is already well known that the Bohai subjugated the surrounding Mohe tribes one after another and brought them under their hegemony.

Since 1998, excavations have been carried out in the Kraskino fortified settlement to discover more about the Ribendao. Excavations have been conducted there continuously since the 1980s, under the aegis of Professor Boldin of the Insitute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography of the peoples of the Far East, Russian Academy of Sciences, Far Eastern Branch. Kraskino is an uneven five-sided fortified settlement, 400m from east to west by 400m north to south with walls about 2m high and the inner part of the fort is ordinary grassland. Gates were constructed to the south, east and west. Professor Boldin has been excavating the area around the ruins of a temple in the northwestern corner of the settlement grounds. To date, the remains of the temple, stone walls and a gate have been unearthed. A Buddhist statue has also been discovered. The eastern gate has been excavated. The eastern gate is constructed in the Wengcheng style with embankments along the route through the gate, but, as that was only just begun, few details can be given at this point. Two horizontal trenches have been dug along the walls and from the trench along the inner wall, it emerged that the wall itself consists of an inner and outer wall. Unfortunately, excavation at Kraskino is very difficult. It is in a low-lying area and any excavation below the surface is immediately flooded. There is a constant battle against the water.

Excavations have only just begun so, as yet, there are results, but good relations have been established with our Russian colleagues. It is hoped that such cooperation will yield further information about the Bohai related ruins in Southern Primorskii.

Chronology of Main Events in Bohai History.
698 Dazuorong wins independence from Dongmoushan and calls himself King Zhen.
719 Dazuorong dies and is succeeded by his son, Dawuyi.
727 Dawuyi sent Gaorenyi, Gaoqide and others to Japan.
35 times
737 Dawuyi dies and Daginmao becomes king.
755 Around this time the capital is moved from Xianzhou to Shangjing,Longquanfu.
(fu = state)
785 Around this time the capital is moved to Dongjing, Longyuanfu. (fu = state)
794 Capital returns to Shangjing
819-823 Around this time an official envoy is sent from Bohai to Japan
926 (Dayanzhuan surrenders to Gidan. End of Bohai.
1115 Nuzhen, Wanyan-Aguda accedes throne and establishes the Jin nation
1216 Puxian Wannu, established the Dazhen (Donzhen or Dongxia) nation.

Presentation by Professor GOMI FUMIHIKO

CONTACTS WITH THE FAR NORTH IN THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD

Archaeological excavations tell us quite a lot about developments in the far north in the medieval period, and it is now known that Ryomon culture and Okhotsk culture existed together throughout Sakhalin and Hokkaido. Ainu culture probably developed out of these two in the 13th Century.

That development was a reaction to the prosperity of the Fujiwara clan in Oshu (present Tohoku district) and the formation of Bakufu rule in the Kanto region, and simultaneously a reaction to the Mongol expansion on the Asian continent. The Ainu people occupied the region from Hokkaido down to Tohoku, and also, in the far north, Sakhalin and the Kuriles. They traded with the peoples of the Amur river basin and the Kamchatka peninsula and were the first to introduce eagle feathers and the skins of sea creatures into Japan.

The Ainu people were the catalyst through which contacts between Japan and Russia came about. I have attached, for reference, a copy of a page describing Ainu culture from Iwanami Shoten's "Nihonshi Jiten" (Dictionary of Japanese History).

AINU

Ainu is the ethnic name of a people which inhabited northern Japan since ancient times and which maintained its own language and culture. The word `Ainu' means `person'. Japan referred to them as the people of "Ezochi" in the medieval and early modern period. It is now thought that they are of Mongol extraction, but there is some dispute about their relationship to the Jomon people. The linguistic group to which the Ainu language belongs is still unknown.

In terms of ethnic culture formation, the basis for Ainu culture was Ryomon culture, which followed on from *late* Jomon culture. At the same time, however, it is thought to have been heavily influenced by the far northern Okhotsk culture. The development of an independent Ainu culture in the medieval and early modern period can be seen in the occurrence of "yukar' (epic poems) and "bear-sending" ritual sacrifices.

The Ainu people also inhabited Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands and traded with other peoples on Sakhalin, the Amur River basin and the Kamchatka peninsula. They were the first to introduce eagle feathers and the skins of sea creatures to Japan. It is also thought that Japan's Tohoku region was inhabited by Ainu, with the same language and racial basis as the Ainu of Hokkaido. In the ancient period, however, they were gradually subsumed into the Japanese state and became an indistinguishable part of Japanese society, so that, by the beginning of the early modern period, there were only a few left in the Tsugaru and Shimokita peninsulas.

Also in the early modern period, the Ainu of Hokkaido were subjected to rigorous controls under the rule of the Matsumae clan. The development of the system of *shoyo chigyo* including unequal barter caused unrest which resulted in 1669 in the Shakushain uprising. In 1789, there occurred the Kunashiri-Menashi uprising against the abuse of workers at the Hidaya-ukeoi-basho (day-labourers camp for a piecework). The piece work system forced the Ainu to switch from a trade-oriented lifestyle to one based on wage labour, and this meant the gradual destruction, or at least reorganisation, of their *kotan* (village communities).

In 1799, the bakufu, fearful of Russian intentions in the southern part of the Kuriles, moved to place eastern Ezochi under direct control. The status of the Ainu changed: until then they had been classified as outsiders, but were now internal to Japan proper. A policy of homogenisation was instigated, forcing them to change their customs and become Japanese.

Japan's northern border had been fixed, without any reference to the wishes of the Ainu, as a result of territorial demarcation negotiations with Russia following the arrival of Putyatin's ship towards the end of the Edo period. In 1876, Japan and Russia signed a treaty for the Exchange of Sakhalin and the Kuriles, and the Ainu inhabitants of Sakhalin were forcibly evicted to Hokkaido. The Meiji government pursued a policy of Japanisation, forcing them to change their names, adopt the Japanese language and become farmers. A Law for the Protection of ex-Aborigines, passed in 1899, caused many problems, not least of which was the wording of the title. This law was at last repealed in 1997 and replaced with the New Ainu Law. The first organisation representing the Ainu people was the Hokkaido Ainu Association, set up in 1930. In 1946, after the war, a legal juridical body with the same name was established, but this was renamed the Hokkaido *Utari* Association in 1961. According to the "Hokkaido *Utari* Living Conditions Survey" conducted in 1993 the Ainu population of Hokkaido was 23,830.

Presentation by Professor KOBAYASHI TATSUO

CULTURAL INTERACTION BETWEEN THE EASTERN PART OF ASIA AND THE JAPANESE ARCHIPELAGO

Humans first appeared on the African continent some four and a half million years ago. After evolving from ape man through ancient man to Neanderthal Man, he crossed over to Europe and then dispersed around Asia. In Indonesia, he became Java Man, and, in China, Peking Man. No sign of their presence in the upper latitudes of Siberia has been found but we are now discovering definite evidence that some of these ancient hominids reached the Japanese islands. Archaeological digs have been conducted at several locations in eastern Japan and there has been success in dating remains by reference to the strata order in accumulations of volcanic ash.

The age of Neanderthal Man gave way to the age of Cro-Magnon Man about 30,000 years ago. They were physically different to their predecessors and used a wider range of stone tools. Cro-Magnon man began to migrate to the Japanese archipelago from the direction of Siberia. This was possible especially towards the end of the last Ice Age when global temperatures fell: volumes of water trapped in glaciers in the extreme north and in high mountainous areas meant lower sea levels. There was a land bridge between Siberia and Sakhalin, and, at least in winter, it would have been quite easy to travel across the drift ice in the Soya Straits between Sakhalin and Hokkaido.

Put another way, it was not so much a case of Siberia and Japan being separated by the ocean, as the case of Hokkaido being a peninsula jutting out from continental Siberia. These geographical conditions made it possible for both areas to share a common culture.

That common culture was the microlithic culture. A sort of international culture was developed in different areas, with the population of each area being aware of conditions elsewhere, resulting in geographically dispersed but qualitatively homogeneous development. Hence, Hokkaido obsidian, a material particularly suited to stonework, was transported all the way from Sakhalin for use in the Vladivostok region. Likewise, beads made from Siberian olivine found their way to the vicinity of Hakodate in the southern part of Hokkaido. It was not simply a matter of moving goods; also of great importance was the migration of people carrying the goods, and the quality and volume of knowledge and information they shared with each other.

The Ice Age gradually drew to a close, global temperatures rose to around where they are today, the glaciers melted and sea levels rose. The sea finally came between Hokkaido and Sakhalin and the land bridge between Sakhalin and Siberia became submerged in the summer. This development allowed the Japanese archipelago to pursue an entirely independent course of cultural development.

It was at this point that the history of human development quickened. People started to use bows and arrows, to keep dogs and to row out to the open seas in dugout canoes. This quickening of development was particularly noticeable in the fabrication of earthenware pottery, in which area Japan was probably the first to use scientific methods of mensuration. Earthenware of a comparable age has at last been discovered in Siberia, strongly suggesting that contacts between the two regions was quite intense.

The wider use of earthenware gave impetus to the development of a new mode of living characterised by a shift from a nomadic existence to village settlements. The result was a long period of solitude and a decline in population movement: Siberia went its own way, while in the Japanese archipelago the time was ripe for the formation of a distinctive Jomon culture.

It was a new beginning in the prehistoric period, with contact between the two regions entering a new dimension based on political relations and trade.

Presentation by Professor IWAASA TAKEHISA

CULTURAL INTERCHANGE BETWEEN JAPAN AND RUSSIA

1. The introduction of Russian literature into Japan

Japan was given a rapid introduction to Russian literary works in the Meiji and Taisho periods. Russian literature, with its depiction of people's lives in a period of modernisation, greatly appealed to the Japanese who were moving uncertainly along the same road. The first literary work translated into Japanese from Russian was an adaptation of Pushkin's "The Captain's Daughter" by Takasu Jisuke and published in 1883. The serious translation work, however, was done by Futabatei Shimei. His translations, published in 1888, of Turgenev's "Aibiki" (a short story from "A Hunter's Sketches"), and "Meguriai" were imbued with such fresh and natural style and expression that they opened up a whole new world to Japanese writers. These translations had an important influence on such writers as Kunikida Doppo, Tayama Katai and Shimazaki Toson. In his translations, Futabatei developed a new Japanese prose format, and, in so doing, made a significant contribution to the unification of the written language and colloquial language.

Futabatei also translated a number of Turgenev's novels, including "Asya", "Dream" and "Rudin", and additionally introduced to Japanese readers the works of authors such as Gogol, Tolstoy, Garshin, Gorky and Andreev, as well as the works of literary critics such as Belinskii and Dobrolyubov. The main figures in Futabatei's own novels, translated into English as "Drifting Clouds", "An Adopted Husband" and "Mediocrity", hark back to `the superfluous man' in Russian novels. It is affirmed that Futabatei's novels were written deeply influenced with the style of Gogol's.

The first work of Tolstoy to be introduced to Japanese readers was Mori *Tai's* abridged translation of "War and Peace" in 1876. During the Meiji period, most of the works of Tolstoy's later years were translated and had a considerable influence on Japan's intelligentsia. Among the more important works were "The Kreutzer Sonata", translated by Konishi Masutaro and Ozaki Koyo in 1885, "*Tanseikan*", translated by Mori Ogai in 1888, "Luzern", translated by Uchida Roan in 1903, and "Anna Karenina", translated by Shibata Ryusei in 1906.

A serious effort at introducing Dostoievsky's full-length novels had to wait until the Taisho period, for example with the publication of the 17-volume complete works beginning in 1917. However, while still in the Meiji period, Uchida Roan's partial translation of "Crime and Punishment", published in 1892-1893, had already caused a major stir.

Lermontov's "A Hero of Our Time" was also translated into Japanese during the Meiji period. In 1892, the novelist, Mori Ogai, translated into Japanese the "Taman" story in "Pechorin's Notes" and in the same year his younger sister, Koganei Kimiko, translated the greater part of "Duchess Mary".

Likewise, the works of Chekhov, who is still very popular in Japan today, were translated in the late Meiji and Taisho periods. Baba Kocho translated "Ward 6" in 1905 and Senuma Kayo produced, in Japanese, "The Collected Masterpieces of the Russian Writer, Chekhov" in 1912.

The efforts begun by Futabatei Shimei to bring Russian literature to Japan meant that, by 1908, the number of works being translated into Japanese from Russian exceeded those being translated from English. The popularity of Russian literature among the Japanese reading public continued to grow, in such a way that, throughout the Meiji, Taisho and Showa periods, translations into Japanese of Russian literature outnumbered literary translations from any other foreign language. This popularity is clear from the publication statistics: Tolstoy ranks first, Chekhov fourth, Dostoievsky sixth, Gorki ninth, and Turgenev eleventh.

2. Theatrical arts

In the theatrical arts, the new style of Japenese theatre known a `shingeki' had close connections with Russia from its inception. In 1909, Osanai Kaoru and Ichikawa Sadanji formed the Jiyu Gekijoi (Free Theatre). While the first play they put on was Ibsen's "John Gabriel Borkman", their second production, in May 1910, included Chekhov's "The Marriage Proposal". In December of the same year, they went on to produce Gorky's "The Lower Depths".

From December 1912 to August 1913, Osanai Kaoru went on a tour of Europe including Russia. The most enduring memory of the tour was a visit to the Moscow Art Theatre. While staying in Moscow, he was a frequent visitor to the Theatre's rehearsals and performances, and was also invited to a year-end reception at the home of Sergeyevich Stanislavsky. After returning to Japan, he used what he had learnt at the Art Theatre to re-stage "The Lower Depths" in February 1913, and Andreyev's "To the World of the Stars" in October 1914. The Moscow Art Theatre first performed in Japan in 1958, but well before that, in the Meiji and Taisho periods, the Theatre's stagecraft had already had a major impact on Japan's shingeki.

Japan's own Geijutsuza (Art Theatre) was formed by Shimamura Hogetsu and Matsui Sumako in 1913, at around the same time as the Jiyu Gekijo was actively performing. In 1914, they staged Tolstoy's "Resurrection" in which Matsui Sumako gave an overpowering rendition of Katchyusha's Song.

The first fixed location for the Shingeki performances was the Tsukiji Shogekijo, built by Osanai Kaoru, Hijikata Yoshi and others in 1924. It was small, seating only 400, but for its time was very well equipped. The range of plays was quite eclectic, including the works of Shakespeare, Ibsen, Shaw and others, with Russian works being produced mainly by Osanai. These included most of the major works, such as Gogol's "The Government Inspector", Tolstoy's "The Power of Darkness", and Chekhov's works excluding his "Ivanov" and "The Seagull". With the death of Osanai in 1928, the Tsukiji Shogekijo theatre group split into two factions and its activities came to an end. Before then, however, a number of Chekhov's plays were produced at the Shogekijo, including "The Song of the Swan" in 1924, "The Bear," "The Cherry Orchard", "The Marriage Proposal", "Three Sisters" and "Uncle Vanya" in 1925, "The Dangers of Tobacco" in 1926, and "An Unwilling Tragedian" and "The Anniversary" in 1927.

In 1927, a troupe of Kabuki actors under Ichikawa Sadanji put on a series of performances in the Soviet Union and these were said to have inspired some of the country's artistic leaders, including the film director, Sergey Eisenstein. This was the first occasion for kabuki to be performed in the Soviet Union, but some 25 years earlier, in 1902, the Kawakami Otojiro and Sadayakko company had visited Russia. Material on the subject of the Kawakami tour or of the Hanako tour which followed it is scant, but we can infer from remarks in an address by the theatrical producer Heyerhold that the acting skills of Sadayakko and Hanako were highly thought of.

Visits by Japanese theatrical groups to Russia and Russian groups to Japan continue apace. Following in the footsteps of the Moscow Art Theatre Japan has seen performances by the Leningrad Bolshoi Theatre, the Maly Theatre of Moscow, the Maly Theatre Leningrad, the Moscow Dramatic and Comic Theatre at Taganka, the Lenin-Komsomol Theatre, the Satiricon Theatre in Memory of Raikina, the Tabakov Theatre and, performing in Tokyo very recently, the Moscow Theatre at Yugo-Zapad. Japanese groups have also given many performances in Russia, and there have been numerous invitations to Japanese theatrical producers to work in Russia. It is apparent that the theatrical arts have been an important element in Russo-Japanese cultural exchange since the Meiji period.

Presentation by Professor SUSUKI YASUTAMI

THE FORMATION OF THE ANCIENT JAPANESE STATE

THE STAGES BETWEEN CHIEFDOM AND ANCIENT STATE

Introduction - recent theories on the subject

Japanese historians regard the period of Japan's ancient society as being between the 1st and 10th Centuries, and distinguish it from the primitive society which preceded it and the medieval period which followed. This was the period in which the ancient state was formed and developed unilaterally, in which the Japanese race was formed, and in which ancient culture evolved.

In this paper, I will be looking at the framework for the history of state formation in ancient Japanese society in the 1st to the 8th Centuries. However, I will not be using a classical state theory, but will be applying cultural-anthropological research derived from models of human society and cultural development. I hope to depict the reality of the first state to develop in human society in the Japanese archipelago and in that way place Japanese society in its historical context at the human and world history level.

There is a lot of interest in the theories of the history of the ancient Japanese state and stages of development derived from models developed in recent years by Japanese cultural anthropologists and archaeologists. First of all, Obayashi Taryo explains the structure of the first state by reference to the three-stage dynasty idea of a higher system subjugating a lower system or the cyclical decline of a higher system. In the first stage, we have the ancient dynasty of the 4th Century (from the Emperor Sujin to Chuai) which displayed a concentric political structure centred around the Yamato higher system. In the middle dynasty stage, extending from the early to the late 5th Century (Ojin), there is a shift from Kyushu to Kinai and the Chikushi lower system is taken over by the Yamato higher system. In Yuryaku, the regions from Kyushu to Kanto were subjugated, while in Buretsu there were disputes between rulers, dissension between the ruler and powerful subjects, the estrangement of seafaring people, and destruction as a result of exhausting the state wealth by the construction of huge tumuli. The new dynasty was in the 6th Century (Keitai) when the Chikushi lower system lost the struggle for supremacy to the Yamato higher system. In other words, the process was from the Mayatai country's chiefdoms to the early state (ancient and middle dynasties), and then to mature state (from the new dynasty to the Jinshin strife of 672). In the third stage, unity was achieved, centralised authority evolved and a bureaucracy put in place.

Anazawa Wako posits four cultural zones. In East Asia, there was the central zone (Chinese dynasties), the secondary zone (including Koguryo, Peakche, Silla, Bohai and Japan from the 7th Century), and the peripheral zone (where enlightened societies came into contact with uncultivated societies, and central Japan until the 7th Century), and finally the zone comprising the uncultivated outer border of the peripheral zone, north Asia and the extreme north of north-east Japan. Japan's chiefdom stage belongs to the peripheral zone. During the middle-late period of Yayoi culture, there were numerous chiefdoms and the chiefs in northern Kyushu established a prestige goods system to obtain iron.

At the end of the 2nd Century, supremacy shifted from Kyushu to Kinai as a result of disturbances in Wakoku (Japan). The Yamatai federation developed on the eve of state formation and immediately prior to the establishment of kofun (tumuli) culture. A prestige goods system centring on Kinai developed, with mirrors being imported and distributed to the chiefdoms in the different regions. Next came a primitive state structure, in other words, the early state stage and the arrival of kofun culture and the kofun period. Centring on Kinai, there occurred economic, military and ideological consolidation and stabilisation. The consolidation of the means to distribute and re-distribute throughout the regions the iron prestige goods was promoted.

The necessary preconditions for the development of enlightened society had not yet evolved. The appearance of Yamato sovereign power brought about a change from the peripheral zone to the secondary zone in the 6th - 8th Centuries. There was a revival in the Chinese central zone which speeded up enlightenment in Japan, Silla and Bohai. Stone chambers in the form of caves and groups of tumuli signified the hollowing out of the status of the traditional elite, and a new social order was formed. The age of enlightenment in Japan was occasioned by official acceptance of Buddhism, and the construction of the Asuka temple in 596 represented Japan at the threshold of enlightenment. The ritsuryo state in the second half of the 7th Century gave rise to a secondary zone or microcosm of China characterised by cities, centralised power, bureaucratic administration, the use of writing, a currency economy, and specialised artisans. Japan, situated at the fringe of the central Chinese enlightenment, developed as a state at the same time as Koria and Bohai.

In the study of archaeology and ancient history, much attention has been paid, since 1991, to Tsude Hiroshi's theory of the early state. Tsude developed the idea, based on early state theory of American cultural anthropologists, of the evolution of the state in stages, from chiefdoms to the early state and then to the mature state. In his scheme, the early state developed from around the time of keyhole-shaped burial mounds in the second half of the 3rd Century, and the mature state developed in the ritsuryo state from the second half of the 7th Century. His theory, therefore, gives the earliest beginning to the formation of the Japanese state.

On the other hand, Yamao Yukihisa spares no criticism of the idea of applying the findings of American and European cultural anthropologists to the history of Japan. Yamao bases his ideas on the historical evidence in Japanese history itself and stresses his own division into stages. In the second half of the 5th Century (Emperor Yuryaku), kingship was completed and, through this kingship, the formation of the state was hastened. In the middle of the 6th Century (Kinmei), there was a surge in the pace of state formation, and, in the first half of the 7th Century (Suiko), the formation of the primary state was completed. The state was reformed around the year 650 (Kotoku) and subsequently structured in 670 - 740. This led, from the second half of the 8th Century to the end of the 9th Century, to a secondary state linked to the first half of the 7th Century. At least as far as the 6th-7th Century primary state stage is concerned, Yamao is not alone, with Hirano Kunio and Yoshida Akira sharing common ground with him. However, Yamao believes that the 8th - 9th Century secondary state is a consequence of the ritsuryo state from the end of the 7th Century to the first half of the 8th Century and was a unique state founded upon external equilibrium. His idea does not accept the formation and development of the ancient Japanese state as a lineal progression or evolution.

Since 1990, I have also hypothesised a series of stages in the formation of the ancient state based on the chiefdom concept. I am roughly in agreement with Tsude in his attempt at "internationalising" research on Japanese history through the application of cultural anthropological theory, but we differ radically in that he believes in the early formation of the Japanese state, whereas I believe its formation and completion was very late. Tsude's idea of an ancient state divided between the structure in the period of keyhole tumuli and the ritsuryo state, and the rise and fall of the ancient state in the 5th - 6th centuries, followed by a revival of the state in the 7th - 8th Centuries, is an important historical view. I will describe below my own opinion which sees the ancient state developing out of chiefdoms (stratified societies).

The history of the formation of the ancient Japanese State

1. The formation and development of chiefdoms

In the Japanese archipelago, in the middle to late Yayoi period, tribal societies based on equality gave rise to people who were inherently superior to those around (`big man'). These groups then produced a rapid succession of `chiefs'. The economic ties which bound these groups can be seen in the establishment and revamping of the Wakoku structure in northern Kyushu in the 1st and 2nd Centuries. In the 3rd Century, a woman chieftain from Yamataikoku was made ruler of Wakoku. The woman chief was a ruler with the power of magic but shared duties of chiefdom with her younger brother. Diplomatic contacts were made with Wei and Han, and the means of distribution superintended. She had close retainers, and led a federation of chiefs from 29 chiefdoms. Congregations did not distinguish between parents and children or between men and women. It was a society in which there was little awareness of rank or precedence, and an incomplete recognition of different social strata. The rulers of Wakoku distributed mirrors and other prestige goods, but, at times of succession, their antagonising of the leading chiefs would lead to insurrections, so that the succession to rulership from within the same family group was not established.

2. Shift to a centralised and stratified society

The Wakoku (Yamato) ruler sent forces to the war between Koguryo and Paekche in the 470s and, after the war with Koguryo at the end of the 4th Century and the beginning of the 5th Century, there were numerous military actions on the Korean peninsula. Wakoku supported Paekche and Kaya, probably in order to acquire iron, technology and culture. After 421, the Yamato chiefdoms and ruler established relations with Song and, while pursuing its Korean policy in the context of the East Asia international environment, they sought to establish an economic system for the distribution of goods. The chiefdoms of northern Kyushu (Chikushi) and Setouchi (Kibi, Iyo and others) entered an alliance with Yamato, establishing fictitious blood relationships under the latter's ascendancy.

In the second half of the 5th Century and with the formation of the conical-type clan, the Yamato chiefs in particular took to having communal tombs built and communal ceremonies held for the chief class. Diplomatic contacts with Song led to the recognition of the Wakoku ruler and successors, and thereby to the establishment of the Wakoku ruler's status and lineage. In addition, cross-border transportation aided social consolidation within the archipelago. The Yamato chiefdoms monopolised diplomatic rights and rights of commerce and comprised the redistribution centre for iron, commodities and technology. A system was in place to handle payments, trading and transportation of the goods produced by the various chiefs. The chiefs even had officers to handle this business. The paramount chief in Yamato divided up ceremonies, foreign diplomacy, military affairs, smithyng, earthenware, metal working and stone working with the chiefs in the adjoining area of Kinai. There then evolved a rough human resources network involved in production and resources between the chiefs in the various regions around the archipelago. This facilitated the concentration around the Yamato ruler of chiefs from the various regions, who themselves then participated in rulership and in so doing promoted the development of a political system. The Yamato rulership became the aggregation of the power invested in the chiefs, paramount among whom was Wao. While particularly true in the centre of the archipelago and in the northern part of Kyushu, these chiefdoms comprised a country-wide unified chiefdom, During this period, the society was being transformed to a centralised, stratified one.

Of particular importance was the conferral by the Chinese imperial court of generalships and other titles, since this spurred the acceptance of administrative government in Japan, and facilitated the construction of Japan's own political order. Towards the end of the 5th Century, there formed around the chiefs, who had settled down under this administrative government, lower ranking groups in a structure known as `hito'. Due to the human relationships formed on the occasion of shrine-building by the king or mobilisation for war, multi-layered relationships in the societies formed and these groups were led by subordinate chiefs in the regions. These were the beginnings of the tomobe, or bemin, structure which formed from the 6th Century.

3. The establishment of a centralised and stratified society

A political structure came into being during the military era (Emperor Yuryaku) of the late 5th and early 6th Centuries. The subjugation of the chiefs in the regions was pursued to make the Wao of the Yamato kingship the ultimate chief. The societies under the regional chiefs took on different forms, including the tomobe (toneri) structure, the kuni no miyatsuko structure and the miyake structure. There came into being settled populations. land ownership and production relationships, with the kingship imposing political and economic centralisation. There were communications with the outside world, and foreign relations, including short wars, with Kaya, Peakche and Silla. There was interaction with ethnic groups visiting from Kaya and China's Southern Dynasty. The kingship controlled the culture that arrived (Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism and technology) and put that culture to important use in the stratification of culture and society. The crisis that arose as a result of the rupturing of relations with the Chinese imperial regime and the destruction of Kaya increased concerns for the self-reliance and divine protection of Wakoku. At home, after the Chikushi no Iwai disturbances, the risk of the kingship being terminated or dismembered was overcome. In fact, it was strengthened under the Emperors Kinmei and Bitatsu as a result of consolidation in military and foreign affairs and the establishment of principles governing succession to the throne. The institution of pro tempore imperial funerals, the concept of a female founding kami and the drawing up of a royal genealogy helped the Wao to crush the other chiefs and contributed to the stabilization of the royal lineage. It is clear that this was the period in which collective societies, characterised by a stratified structure and the centralisation of authority, were formed in the chiefdoms.

4. The maturing of the centralised stratified society

The chiefdoms came to an end in the first half of the 7th Century, and there is no doubt that organised stratified society then emerged. This, however, was not yet the stage of the state. The location of the kingship was the southern part of Yamato (Asuka) and the ruling class clustered there. However, as can be inferred from kabane, there was a strict differentiation in status between Wao and retainers. This formed the basis for the kingship's political structure and was clannish. In the centre, various bureaucratic (tsukasa) structures, such as uma no tsukasa, yama no tsukasa, but these were offshoots of the tomobe structure, structurally primitive and disorganised. Senior retainers and ministers were tsukasa heads and they, together with Wao and royal relatives, made up the deliberative councils. The ruling structure was inherently familial in terms of the people involved and the machinery of state hardly existed. As for the rule in the regions, while Kuninomikoto mochi went around the regions and made preparations for a system of Kuni-Khori, the provision of goods and labour barely covered the tribute and service on which the ruling chief relied. There was still very little in terms of control mechanisms to handle the organisation of habitation, one of the characteristics of the state. In 600, however, with the opening of relations with China's Sui, ceremonial activities prompted the status stratification of the kingship ruling class, Buddhism became the ideology of the kingship, and the eternal lineage of Wao and myths became historical records. Politics accrued to the kingship and theocratic government began.

There were political reforms in the mid-7th Century (known as itsushi reforms), foreign military campaigns from 660 onwards (the northern campaign of Abe no Hirafu and the Peakche war), and a major rebellion in 672. These put an end to the disturbances and fragmentation of stratified society caused by instability in the system of chiefdomship, an instability which can be inferred by the growth in the number of village chiefs in the regions and communities. In a remarkable political development, the ruling class closed ranks to maintain and extend its own position.

5. The establishment of the ancient state

While the ancient Japanese state was still developing, the ruling structure of the chiefs was dismantled. They were all appointed to bureaucratic or senior positions in local administration (i.e. the Kohri of 50 houses). Above them were placed governors sent out by the kingship to preside over the end of the chiefdoms and to try to penetrate regional government. The expansion of the Chinese Tong empire and the progress in state formation all over Asia was the source of enormous external pressure. The 660s (Emperor Tenchi) represent a turning point: in the 670s, after Emperor Tenmu, the ritsuryo law was inherited from Tang and Silla and implemented. As a result, Japanese society achieved the switch to the ancient state. The visible evidence of this is the change in titles: The Wao of the Tenmu period became Emperor, and Wakoku was changed to Nihon.

It is possible to say that the ritsuryo state which evolved in Japan in the 8th Century was an ancient state built not by severing the production relations which had been controlled by the chiefs since the chiefdom stage, but by co-opting them into the bureaucratic structure. The principles and customs of chiefdomship were still extant and the fact that its human and economic relationships retained certain relevance with regard to the social order and control, and subordinate relationships, is characteristic of the primitive state. This state structure, dependent on the chiefdomship system, was the ancient state which made its appearance in Japanese society in the early part of the 9th Century. Changing as it went, it lasted until the first half of the 10th Century.

V. CONCLUSIONS .

This Meeting is the second, following that of St. Petersbourg in 1999, held to increase our mutual understanding in the history of relations between our two countries. At the last Meeting, we discussed papers which addressed the question of how the history of Russia and of Russo-Japanese relations was taught in Japan, and of how the history of Japan and of Russo-Japanese relations was taught in Russia. At that Meeting, also one of the points made, and one with which I was in full agreement, was that the history of relations between us should not be taught solely as the relations between two states and concerned with wars and diplomacy. Rather, it should also embrace the cultures of our two countries and the way each of us live. I believe the new emphasis was reflected in the many presentations we have heard on the subject of culture and lifestyle in the current Meeting.

In 1988, during the Soviet era, I had the opportunity to visit Moscow and what was then known as Leningrad and to meet with a number of teachers of history. I paid another visit to the same two cities in 1999 and was struck by the rapidity of the change which had taken place in Russia in the previous 11 years. Of particular significance to me at the present meeting is the awareness of the numerous new initiatives being undertaken in history teaching in Russia.

From Dr Kiselev's paper, I learnt how the federal government is promoting the development of history teaching which embraces multiculturalism and regionalism. Dr Batsyn helped me understand the various attempts being made in various areas to introduce Japanese culture and lifestyle to Russian students. I listened with great interest to Professor Goloubev's description of how students at Russian universities learn in a very systematic and detailed way about Japanese history, culture, economics and society. The papers presented by Dr Strelova and Dr Romanchenko enthused listeners with the history of Japan and of Russo-Japanese relations in the Russian Far East from the ancient period to modern times. Their preparation of a supplementary reader on the subject contributed greatly to this. I believe all the reports presented by our Russian visitors left a strong impression on us.

From the Japanese side, Professor Tamura's paper described how Japanese and Russian academics have cooperated in archaeological surveys of Bohai and the efforts made to understand the interchange that went on, in the ancient period, between Japan on the one hand and Primorskii Krai and the Khabarovsk region on the other. Professor Matsumura and Professor Iwaasa reported on Russo-Japanese cultural interchange in the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th Century. Although formal relations between the two countries were not particularly friendly in this period, there was vigorous cultural interchange between the two peoples. The fact that, until 1955, translations of Russian literary works into Japanese regularly outnumbered translations from any other language gives an idea of the influence exerted by Russian literature.

Just referring to my own personal experience in this context, I remember being an avid reader of the works of Tolstoy in my youth, immediately after the Second World War. Indeed, it is more than likely that there is hardly a person of my generation who has not read Tolstoy.

The Japanese Ministry of Education's Gakushu Shido Yoryo ("National Curriculum Standards", which is officially translated as "Course of Study" in government publications) in 1989 emphasised the importance of `internationalisation' and ushered in a number of changes to the high school history syllabus, including compulsory courses in world history. A new standard was brought out in 1998-99, on the basis of which new textbooks will be produced for use in elementary schools, junior high schools and high schools in 2002-2003. I believe all this will promote internationalisation and international understanding. In this context, and as we move into the 21st Century, I have no doubt that our Russo-Japanese conference on the teaching of history will contribute importantly to deeper ties of mutual understanding of the history and culture of our two countries.

Finally, I would like to extend our deepest thanks to Professor Kiselev and his colleagues for coming all this way to present some very memorable papers. I would also like to extend our gratitude to the organisers of this important Meeting, Ms Cardwell and her colleagues at the Council of Europe, and to the interpreters whose excellent work helped us overcome the language barrier and thereby contributed to the success of the Meeting. To all those who supported the Meeting, our deepest thanks. I was very pleased to hear of Dr Kiselev and Ms Cardwell's concrete proposals for promoting the next conference of this sort. I will close by expressing my great hopes for the future of these Russo-Japanese Conferences on the Teaching of History.

Again, my thanks to all involved.

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

CHAIR/PRESIDENT

Professor IGASAKI Akio, Toyama Kokusai University,
403,2-18-10 Nishinakano-cho, Toyama-shi 939-8084
Tel: +81 764 91 80 45

RUSSIAN FEDERATION

Dr Alexander KISELEV, First Deputy Minister of General and
Professional Education, Ministry of Education, Chistiey
Proudy Street, 113833 MOSCOW, Russian Federation
Tel: +7 095 924 79 24 Fax: +7 095 924 69 89

Dr Vladimir BATSYN, Deputy Head of the Department for
Regional Policies, Ministry of General and Professional
Education, 5 Chistiey Proudy Str, RF- 13833 MOSCOW
Tel: +7 095 923 87 12 Fax: +7 095 923 08 15
Dr Sergey GOULOUBEV, Head of the Department of World
History, Tver State University, Proshina Str. 5-1-2, 170021
TVER, Russian Federation
Tel/Fax: +7 0822 48 92 72

DrTatiana ROMANCHENKO, Head of the Section, In-service
Teacher Training Institute, VLADIVOSTOK
Tel/Fax: +7 4232 52 55 59

Dr Olga STRELOVA, Senior Lecturer, State Pedagogical
University, Carla Marksa Street 68, 680030 KHABAROVSK,
Russian Federation
Tel: +7 42 12 21 82 04 Fax: +7 42 12 21 01 00

JAPAN

Ms Michiko KAYA, Chair of the Board of Directors,
International Society for Educational Information, Shinko
Ofisomu 502, 20-3 San'ei-cho, Shinjuku-ku, TOKYO 160-0008
Tel: + 81 333 58 11 38 Fax: + 81 333 59 71 88
E-mail: kaya@isei.or.jp

Professor KOBAYASHI Tatsuo, Kokugakuin University,
Member of the ISEI Expert Committee, 4-2-18 Minami-Azabu, Minato-ku, TOKYO 106-0047
Tel: +81 334 42 50 83

Professor SUZUKI Yasutami, Kokugakuin University,
Member of the ISEI Expert Committee, 28-17 Inuyama-cho, Sakae-ku, Yakohama -shi 247-0026
Tel: +81 458 91 41 80

Professor TAMURA Koichi, Aoyama Gakuin University,
Member of the ISEI Expert Committee, 301, 3-35-1
Hamadayama, Suginami-ku, TOKYO 168-0085
Tel: +81 333 16 96 05

Professor GOMI Fumihiko, Tokyo University, Member of the
ISEI Expert Committee, TOKYO

Professor MATSUMURA Masayoshi, Nihon University,
Member of the ISEI Expert Committee, 2-1-203 Akitsu,
Narashino-shi 275-0025
Tel: +81 474 52 49 55

Dr IWAASA Takehisa, Assistant Professor, Teikyo
University, Member of the ISEI Expert Committee, 3-203,
6-1181-4 Mitsuhashi, Omiya-shi 331-0052
Tel: 81 486 24 79 53

Professor Yasushi TORIUMI, Chuo University, Professor
Emeritus, Tokyo University, Member of the ISEI Expert
Committee, 4-5-13 Yakumo Maguro-ku, TOKYO 152-0023,
Japan
Tel/fax: +81 337 18 06 59

Mr Yoshihisa TATANO, Member of the Language Committee
of ISEI, 3-14-4 Yamate Funabashi-shi CHIBA-KENN 273-0045
Tel/fax: +81 474 32 72 04

Dr NOJIMA Yoko, Assistant Professor, Tokyo University,
TOKYO

Professor ISHIZAKA Kazuo, Gifu Shotoku Gakuen University, former Chief of Curriculum Division, National Institute for Education Research

Professor OKUDA Yoshia, Professor Emeritus of Chuo University

Ms AKAGI Yasuko, Member of the Language Committee of ISEI, Assistant Director of Project Department of ISEI, TOKYO

Dr KOMATSU Yoji, Assistant Director of Public Relations Department of ISEI, TOKYO

Ms MATSUMOTO Akiko, Secretary of ISEI, TOKYO

Mr TAKANO Kazuko, Staff of the Project Department of ISEI

COUNCIL OF EUROPE

Ms Alison CARDWELL
Administrator
Education Policies and European Dimension Division
Directorate IV, Education, Culture, Youth and Sport
Council of Europe, F - 67075 STRASBOURG CEDEX, France
Tel: + 333 88 41 26 17 Fax: +333 88 41 27 50/ 27 56
E-mail: alison.cardwell@coe.int

Ms Tatiana MILKO
Programme Officer
Education Policies and European Dimension Division
Directorate IV, Education, Culture, Youth and Sport
Council of Europe, F - 67075 STRASBOURG CEDEX, France
Tel:+ 333 88 41 26 17 Fax:+ 333 88 41 27 50/ 27 56
E-mail: tatiana.milko@coe.int

Note [1] . Bakufu: shogunate. Any of the three military governments that ruled Japan during most of the period from 1192 to 1867, as opposed to the civil government under the emperor at Kyoto. The term bakufu has been used by historians to designate the type of power structure presided over by a shogun, specially the Kamakura

Shogunate (1192-1333), the Muromachi Shogunate (1338-1573), and the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603-1867). Here it refers to the Tokugawa Shogunate. (Source: Kodansha Encyclopaedia of Japan)

Note [2] Bakufu: shogunate. Any of the three military governments that ruled Japan during most of the period from 1192 to 1867, as opposed to the civil government under the emperor at Kyoto. The term bakufu has been used by historians to designate the type of power structure presided over by a shogun, specially the Kamakura Shogunate (1192-1333), the Muromachi Shogunate (1338-1573), and the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603-1867). Here it refers to the Tokugawa Shogunate. (Source: Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan)

U.S. Department of Education
Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI)
National Library of Education (NLE)
Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC)

NOTICE

Reproduction Basis

☒ This document is covered by a signed "Reproduction Release (Blanket)" form (on file within the ERIC system), encompassing all or classes of documents from its source organization and, therefore, does not require a "Specific Document" Release form.

☐ This document is Federally-funded, or carries its own permission to reproduce, or is otherwise in the public domain and, therefore, may be reproduced by ERIC without a signed Reproduction Release form (either "Specific Document" or "Blanket").

EFF-089 (1/2003)